

NARRATIVE
OF THE LOSS OF THE
WINTERTON EAST INDIAMAN,

WRECKED ON THE COAST OF MADAGASCAR IN 1797

AND OF THE

Sufferings connected with that Event.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE NATIVES OF MADAGASCAR, WITH
SUGGESTIONS AS TO THEIR CIVILIZATION

BY ~~THE~~ PASSENGER IN THE SHIP

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P R E F A C E.

IT so happens that a distinct and connected account of the Loss of the Winterton East Indiaman, and of the sufferings undergone by those belonging to that ill-fated ship, has never yet been brought under public notice. Though attended with circumstances of considerable variety and interest at the time,

“ ’Tis now a story but little known.”

Many of those who had their part in those sufferings are now no more ; and it seems desirable, while some of the survivors yet remain, to use means to supply a narrative that may perhaps be thought still interesting. When relieved from the

Island of Madagascar, I prepared a short manuscript account, aided by notes which had been taken by a gentleman*, a passenger of the ship, with whom I happened to have formed a particular acquaintance; and who, having been saved on a different part of the wreck from that on which I was, had means of furnishing information that I did not possess. This account, however, was quite a boyish production, and not intended, and no way fitted for the public eye. For several years after, matters of more immediate moment intervened to occupy my attention; and the subject I now refer to had somewhat gone out of mind. Of late, indeed, I have had it in view to revise, at some time or other, the manuscript I have mentioned; but I don't know if that time would ever have come, and it might have been allowed

* Mr. T—— his lamented death took place in Madagascar. The few papers I have referred to were forwarded from India to his agent in London, for the purpose of being transmitted to his friends.

PREFACE.

to sleep in oblivion, if I had not, last summer, met with my friend Captain Dale, the third, and now only surviving officer of the Winterton. It was he who, under Providence, was instrumental in effecting our ultimate relief from the Island ; and he had kept a very regular account of his proceedings. This manuscript he was kind enough to shew me ; and it so much accorded, on all essential points, with what I had myself written, in so far as we went over the same ground, that I found much of my former interest revive, and pretty much decided from that time to resume the *theme*, and *magnum renovare dolorem*. Captain Dale's Narrative was not intended to go beyond the domestic circle, but he has kindly allowed me to use it on the present occasion ; and I am sure it is right that his merit and exertion in the general cause should be made known. My own manuscript, though now an essential guide, is defective in having omitted several interesting particulars, which, as an inexperienced

ced penman, I thought beneath the *historian's* dignity, but which I am now aware form a very material feature in such narratives. Happily, however, most of those particulars were so much impressed on the tablets of memory, as not to be easily forgotten. But it will be observed in the course of the ensuing Narrative, that, where the distinction is necessary, I refer to them as matter of remembrance, and not of record. On the whole, I presume to say, that the sources may be considered as authentic, and that the information stated may be received with confidence.

•It was my intention to have connected with this an historical sketch of Madagascar, particularly of the European intercourse with that island, in so far as my defective materials would afford the means of doing so; but the ensuing narrative has branched out so much beyond what I anticipated, that my intention on this subject has been a good deal changed, and

the plan abridged.—It has fallen to my lot to have had a greater number of nautical adventures and escapes than usually come to the share of landsmen. No subsequent ones were at all equal in length or suffering to what arose from the wreck of the *Winterton*; but they were marked by circumstances of some interest. Of these, I had it also in contemplation to have added a short account to the present Narrative, but shall, for the present at least, delay doing so. In addition to the reason first mentioned, I am not unreasonable enough to suppose that what is interesting to myself should therefore be much so to others. The present generation, with many things to recommend, has certainly much of the Athenian disposition, a desire “either to tell or to hear some new thing;” and what at the time perhaps might have obtained at least a corner in a newspaper, is now so much gone by as probably not even to reach that class in the literary scale. In using the term *literary*, I beg that I may

not be understood as aiming at any thing at all of a literary work. The following has been the lucubration of not many days, as any one who reads it will too well see. If I find it excites any interest, I will probably recur to the intention I first entertained of somewhat extending it. If not, I shall with very little regret lay down the pen that I have felt a sort of indolent reluctance in taking up.

I have just one more observation to add. The proceeds of such a publication as this will probably be very immaterial; but I hope that I shall not be charged with any unworthy motive if I mention, in the outset, that whatever they may be, it is intended that they shall be appropriated as a small ~~mine~~ ^{contribution} towards the Missionary Establishment now formed in Madagascar, and which will probably be extended. I state this, as I wish to have no appearance of pecuniary interest in the publication; as also, that if any one finds amusement in it, it may be

known that, with this gratification, is connected something of usefulness ; or, if disappointment follows, that there may be the consolation of being aware that the cost has not been entirely misapplied.

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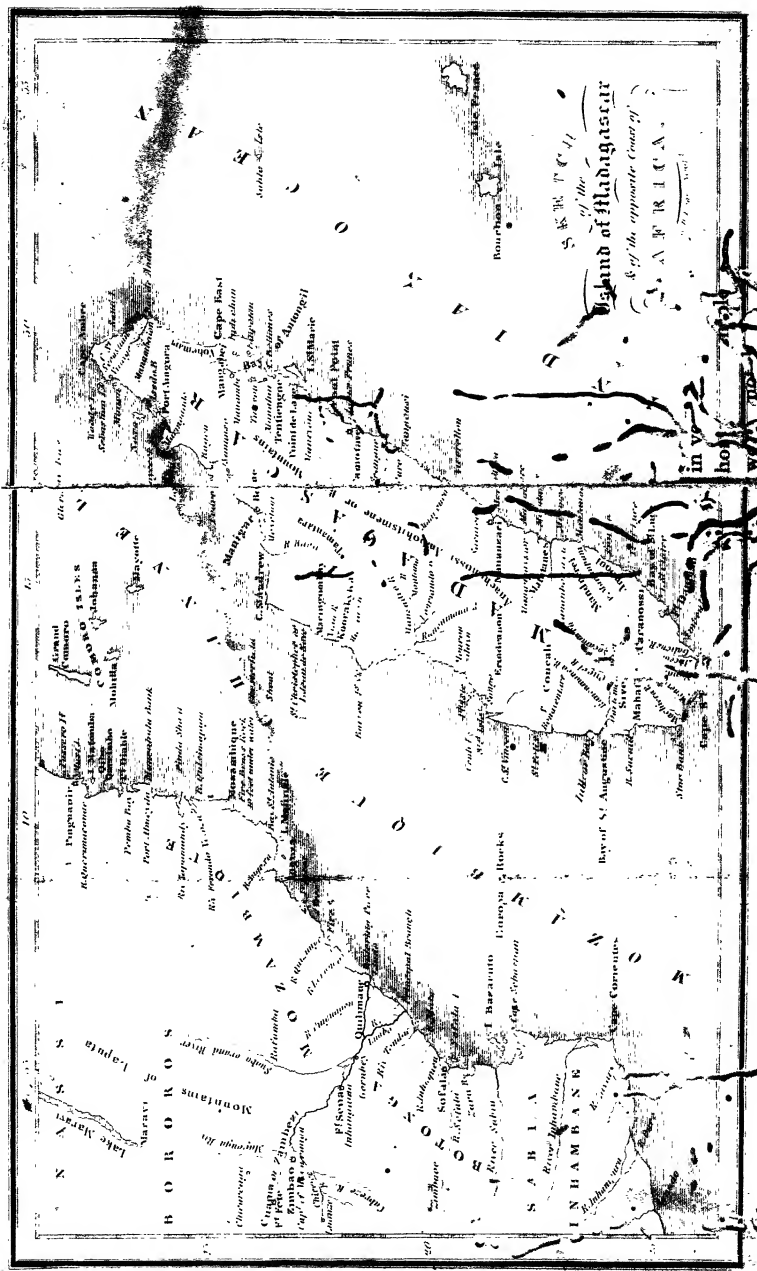
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Island of Madagascar
of the
opposite Coast of

in v. 22. 1810

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NARRATIVE OF THE LOSS
OF THE
WINTERTON EAST INDIAMAN.

PART FIRST.

*Account of the Wreck of the Winterton, and of
the events which occurred till our arrival at
Tullear on Madagascar.*

THE Winterton East Indiaman, commanded by Captain George Dundas, sailed from England for Madras and Bengal, on the 2d May, 1792. A voyage to India is now so well understood, that in the ordinary course of things, it presents little novelty. Though thousands, and tens of thousands, have pursued, and will probably continue to pursue, the same track of India adventure, yet, the separation that then takes place, in very many cases for ever, is to those to whom it has been pleasant, no light thing, and I do not hold in much estimation the young heart that could have all its early ties se-

without a pang. I reckon it indeed impossible for any young person who feels at all, to bid a long farewell to the domestic circle, and the native abode,

“ Seats of our youth, when ev’ry sport can please,”

without feeling deeply. In truth, on that occasion, many an aching heart is hid under a smiling face ; for these are feelings that cannot be allowed much to meet the public eye, without endangering the character of manliness, that most, in making their first step in life, are particularly emulous of asserting. On some of these points I speak a little experimentally, as I remember their being somewhat realized in my own case. I embarked at Gravesend three days before the ship sailed ; and not knowing a person on board, the scene, then entirely new, was dreary enough. But, at an early period of life, the mind soon gets assimilated to new objects and pursuits : New acquaintances are gradually formed ; new interests excited : As the bow that gilds the clouds, hope scatters her rays in the distant horizon ; and, as the youthful adventurer has not yet learned from experience, that

“ Man never is, but always to be bless’d ;”

the imagination is filled with expectations, which, though they answer the purpose at the time of

quickenings the march of the spirits, are in the issue far more frequently baffled than realised.

Most of the passengers did not embark till the day before we sailed. The ship was much crowded. There were ten ladies on board; and I think about thirty dined at the Captain's table, besides a number belonging to the mess in the cabin of the third mate. There were also a number of recruits on board; making in all between 275 and 280 persons. I kept no journal regarding the first part of our voyage; and, if I had done so, it probably would have furnished nothing much worth mentioning. We passed near the island of Madeira, but did not anchor; and, so far as my recollection goes, we saw no other land till we made the Cape of Good Hope, on the 18th July. Till then the voyage might be well called pleasant. A ship is, in fact, a world in miniature; and where various dispositions and discordant tempers are brought together, and concentrated in very little compass, it requires a much larger portion of the spirit of mutual accommodation, than can reasonably be expected in the varied group of an outward-bound Indiaman, to keep all things smooth. Hence breezes not unfrequently arise, and they sometimes increase ~~to storms~~. But of this we

had; I believe, less than our own share. The chief source of disturbance used to be perhaps in a quarter where something of harmony is reasonably looked for, namely, the practitioners in music, particularly on the violin and flute, whose notes are somehow uncommonly rebellious in the hands of new performers. "Pass the word for * Corporal Mackoy," was accordingly a sound of ominous import to all amateurs of musical science. Such things are, however, quite essential to break the monotony of a long voyage, and, after all, are no great interruption to those whose tastes and pursuits happen to take another course.

* As the season of the year did not admit of the ship entering Table Bay, we landed at False Bay. The Cape was then under the government of the Dutch, and has no doubt since, undergone many changes and improvements; but, as a place for the refreshment of ships, the advantages it then possessed could hardly be surpassed. We found the climate delightful, and a profusion of fruit and vegetables, that constitute to those who have been long on ship-board, a treat which those who

* I believe this is the person who afterwards exercised his musical acquirements with advantage on Madagascar.

have never quitted their own shore cannot rightly appreciate. I had been for some weeks during the voyage much of an invalid, and when we reached the Cape was not perfectly recovered. But the change worked with magic charm; and, a day or two after landing, I was enabled to join some of the other passengers in an expedition to Cape Town, a distance of 15 or 20 miles, mounted on the cavalry of the country, without much fatigue. If a long voyage has, what some call its "miseries," it has also its advantages, and perhaps I may reckon among the number, though the praise may be a little negative, the transition of getting on shore, and again enjoying the privilege of roaming at large.

The requisite supply of water and provisions being obtained, we sailed from False Bay on the 1st August, at day-light in the morning. Captain Dundas at first intended to proceed to India, by what is called the outer passage*; but the wind, after the first two or three days, proving variable and contrary, it was decided, on the 10th of August, to bear up for the Mozambique channel. After taking this course the wind

* In taking this course, ships go to the east of Madagascar. The passage is generally more boisterous, but more certain as to time, than that through the Mozambique channel.

continued light and unfavourable, which prevented Captain Dundas from making the island of Madagascar according to his intention, near St. Augustine's Bay, in the view of ascertaining his precise situation. On this point, however, he felt considerably assured, from lunar observations which he had on the 16th or 17th. On Sunday, the 19th August, the wind freshened considerably from S.W., and was quite the wind desired. In the forenoon of that day, there was seen at a considerable distance what much resembled breakers, and a boat was dispatched from the ship to ascertain the fact. But the fresh breeze in the meantime sprung up, and as a number of whales were seen near the ship, it was thought probable that the appearance in the water was occasioned by them*. A signal gun was in consequence fired for the return of the boat. Whether they were or were not breakers that were seen, it must be now impossible to say; but what afterwards ensued, appears to make it likely that they were so. The weather throughout the Sunday was clear and fine. That is a day when, on board of ship as on shore, people

* The spouting of whales occasions the water to rise to a great height, much resembling breakers.

generally appear in a sort of holiday dress ; and, in a well-regulated ship, the sailors and soldiers, equipped in their best attire, present an interesting sight. On the evening of the day I am mentioning, this was seen to much advantage. The wind was fair, the sea quite smooth, every thing appeared to prosper, and all were generally cheerful and joyous. I should indeed except Captain Dundas himself, who was certainly not without a good deal of anxiety. He had not succeeded in his endeavour to make the land, and though he *knew* that his distance from it was not very great, he did not *know* the extent. I well remember standing with him for a considerable time on the Sunday evening at the gangway, and his then telling me that he smelt the land distinctly*. When he retired to his cabin, which was, I think, about 10 o'clock, his last words to me were the expression of an earnest hope that land might be seen by next morning. Regarding the navigation of the ship at this critical period, I recur with great satisfaction to the narra-

* The smell of land often extends a long way to sea. In passing a great way from Ceylon particularly, (probably from the spicy fragrance,) hounds on board of ship have been known to open in full cry.

“ ve of Captain (then Mr.) Dale. He states,
 “ We proceeded east by compass, from noon on
 “ the 19th till midnight, when I relieved the se-
 “ cond officer. The Captain was then on deck,
 “ and altered the course to E.N.E.* Till two in
 “ the morning we steered this course, when Cap-
 “ tain Dundas came again on deck, and ordered
 “ me to keep the ship N.E. by E. There was at
 “ that time a moderate breeze, the ship going six
 “ knots ; the water remarkably smooth, and a
 “ clear star-light night. Every possible attention
 “ was paid to the look-out. People were station-
 “ ed on the bowsprit, fore-yard, &c. ; Captain
 “ Dundas and myself, with night-glasses, care-
 “ fully looking in the direction of the land ; but
 “ so perfectly was he satisfied with the correct-
 “ ness and accuracy of his time-pieces and ob-
 “ servations, that he never once mentioned

! This had the effect of directing the ship's course some-
 what off the land.

Mr. Dale observes : “ Captain Dundas had two time-pieces,
 “ one of which had served him in his former voyage, and by
 “ it he had constantly made the land to the greatest degree of
 “ exactness. From these, and from the lunar observations
 “ recently taken, the whole of which were in coincidence
 “ with the time-pieces, he at midnight concluded with con-
 “ fidence that he was 80 miles from the nearest part of the
 “ coast.” It is probable that strong currents were the chief
 cause of the great disappointment which occurred in the
 reckoning.

“sounding *. A little before three o’clock, he
 “pointed out to me the ship’s place in a chart,
 “which was then upwards of 60 miles (according
 “to his idea) from the land ; and when he left the
 “deck at three, directed me to steer N.E., ob-
 “serving, that on that course, we could not make
 “more than six miles of easting before day-light ;
 “and that if we *were* nearer than he supposed to
 “the land, it would be impossible to avoid seeing
 “it before any accident could happen—adding,
 “‘ If you see any thing suspicious, act accord-
 “ingly, without waiting to call me.’ Captain
 “Dundas had not been off the the deck above
 “seven or eight minutes when the ship struck..
 “The first shock was scarcely perceptible, except
 “to the man at the helm. The sensation it
 “caused in me was as if some of the small spars
 “aloft had been carried away, and I looked up
 “in that idea ; but the second time the ship
 “thumped, I was violently driven from the after-
 “hatchway to the wheel.”

Those who have not experienced the sensation
 of a ship grounding on rocks, can form no ade-
 quate idea how awful it is, particularly when it
 happens during the darkness of the night, and

* Captain Dundas trusted, a good deal to seeing fires on
 shore before making land, which he had always found to be
 the case in his preceding voyages.

in the midst of doubt as to the local situation. The cabin in which I slept was near the after-hatchway, not far from that of Mr. Chambers, the chief mate; and the voice is still sounding in my ear of Captain Dundas calling loudly and repeatedly to him that the ship had struck. I think it was this indeed awoke me, for I believe the concussion was not at first felt so much towards the centre of the ship* as towards the stern, where it must have been felt with tremendous violence. One of the passengers, who was sleeping in a fixed bed place, in what is called the great cabin, sprung from his bed on the first alarm, and had scarcely quitted it when the rudder, or some part of it †, was forced through the deck, and shivered the bed-place in a way that must have proved fatal to its possessor, if he had been more tardy in leaving it. Every soul that could move was speedily on deck; and, crowded as the ship was with passengers of all kinds, the reader may have a faint idea of the motley scene that, in the dim obscurity of the night, presented itself, none feeling certain but every moment

* It will be recollected that, in a ship, concussions from the sea are so usual, that one is familiarized with the feeling.

† As I write this fact from recollection, and not from notes, I am prevented from saying precisely how it was.

might be the last. It may be indeed well said, "that while in life we are in the midst of death ;" and no contrast could be well more striking than the then state of things, and the happiness of the preceding evening—a transition that a few short hours had sufficed to produce. At the time the ship struck the water appeared to the eye smooth as a mill-pond ; no breakers were visible, (the circumstance, in fact, that may be said to have "lured us to our doom ;") but the natural agitation of the water was, notwithstanding, such as to occasion the ship to beat incessantly. I believe, however, that the confusion was much less than might, under such circumstances, have been expected ; and the various duties required in that emergency went on with much alacrity and effect. The instant the accident occurred, Mr. Dale ordered the helm to be put "hard-a-weather," and threw the sails in such a position as gave the ship a chance of going round ; but this failing, and as it was found that the ship did not go off, Captain Dundas, who had hastened with the quickness of lightning on deck ; ordered all the sails to be thrown aback ; and the jolly-boat and yawl were immediately lowered down for the purpose of sounding. Within 100 yards a-stern of the ship, it was found that the

water was not less than five fathom deep*, and as the wind was right off the shore, there was good reason to hope that the measure of backing the sails would be successful. Indeed to a great extent it was so, for the ship was actually at one time got off, and the general cry, "She is afloat," spread perhaps a greater gleam of light than if the sun had unexpectedly dawned. I happened to be standing by the man who was stationed in the stern gallery to heave the lead; and I well remember the joy that was diffused by the intimation of deepening water. The joy, however, was not long in its continuance. The darkness of night had probably occasioned a deception as to the supposed extent that the ship had backed; but before she had gone sufficiently a-stern to admit of steerage-room, orders† were given for again filling the sails, and the vessel was once more finally and fatally precipitated on the reef of surround-

* The ship probably drew about 23 feet water, so that five fathom was a good deal more than required to float her.

† It is said that these orders were given by the chief mate, but it matters not. Every thing was done for the best, and, in such trying scenes, it would be hard to attach responsibility for every particular measure. If it was that respected officer who gave the orders, he had no doubt, in his own mind, at the time good reasons for what he did.

ing rocks. It was one of the many untoward circumstances that combined against us, that the ship had grounded just about the time of high water, and that too during spring-tides, so that every minute diminished the chance of our being extricated. After the last mentioned disaster, the next measure was to carry out an anchor and hawser in the cutter, some distance a-stern, when an effort was made to heave the ship off, but it failed. Mr. Dale observes: "The sails
 " were next handed. Top-gallant yards and masts
 " struck, the long-boat got out, the booms rafted
 " alongside, and the deck entirely cleared. By
 " the time these different operations were effect-
 " ed, day-light appeared, and discovered to us our
 " situation. We found that the ship was on a reef
 " of rocks, about six miles from the land. With-
 " in the outer reef was deeper water, and half-way,
 " to the shore was another reef, which at high
 " water was covered. That on which the ship
 " struck extended as far to the northward as we
 " could see, and to the southward quite to St.
 " Augustine's Bay. The situation was near
 " point St. Felix, according to the charts*."

* Captain Dundas ascertained, by an observation which he took on Monday the 20th, the situation of the wreck to be

During the ebbing of the tide, the ship continued to beat with increasing violence, as the water diminished in depth: But about eight in the morning, she lay perfectly quiet, the water having then sunk to about eight feet. So soon as we struck, the military recruits were ordered to the pumps, and they persevered with great ardour and cheerfulness during the morning and subsequent part of the day, (Monday,) so long as their doing so could be of any use. But, in the progress of the wreck, the bottom of the ship became so much shattered, that the water was as deep within as without, and the pumps ceased to be of any avail. On the morning of Monday, the only hope that remained was the trial of another great effort, on the next flowing of the tide; and after breakfast was dispatched, every active hand was employed in preparation

off point St. Felix, 63 miles to the north of St. Augustine, which is in about 23° and $30'$ south latitude.

Mr. Dale states, "About the same place, we found on the beach, afterwards, a mast, and some other parts of the wreck of a large ship; which I learnt at Mozambique had been a Portuguese ship from Europe, wrecked a few years before. The commander of her went to Mozambique in his long-boat, and returned in about a month with relief to his crew; but many died in that short time, and of the same complaints as fatally affected our people. I saw one gentleman at Mozambique who was in the ship."

for this purpose, by throwing overboard all heavy articles, so that the ship might be as much as possible lightened. Mr. Dale was particularly employed in the arduous duty of getting the heavy guns carried out to a considerable distance, that the ship might not strike on them, if again made to float; and this duty he performed with manly activity, so long as it was possible; but the surf becoming very high when the sea-breeze set in, the boats could not then approach the ship *. It was mentioned above, that the booms had been fastened along-side; but the surf unhappily broke them adrift, and many were lost, which greatly impaired the means of providing rafts, the last resort to which we were soon to be driven. The hour of dinner arrived, and, externally, things went on much in the usual routine, though it proved the last regular meal that we partook of for a long period. The time of high-water was then drawing on,

* Among the things thrown overboard, was a pretty general sweep of whatever lumbered the deck, hen-coops and such articles; and it was an object of momentary interest, even in our situation, to see how delighted the geese were in their new element. But successive surfs soon made them feel that they were not then in the peaceful ponds to which they had probably been once accustomed. I do not believe any of them reached the shore alive.

and a more momentous object was in view,—the last effort that was to decide the fate of the ship. This was looked forward to by all with a degree of solicitude that may be somewhat imagined; but we were not long in doubt after the time came. Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, the final attempt was again made to heave the ship off; but it failed. She had become immovable by human power, and all hope of her safety terminated*.

In this stage of our difficulties, the next primary consideration was the safety of the lives of the people on board. A consultation of the officers was called, and it was decided to dispatch on shore the yawl with the second mate, Mr. Spens, and the purser Mr. Dun, for the purpose of ascertaining the safest place of landing. The boat accordingly departed about sunset, equipped with the requisite supply of small arms and provisions. Ample supplies of provisions, salt beef, biscuit, and spirits, were collected on board from the ship's stores, and ar-

* Mr. Dale, in referring to this last disappointment, says, "It was probably fortunate for us that our attempts were frustrated, as by this time the different leaks had gained so much in the pumps, that had we succeeded, we might have found it impossible to keep the ship afloat, and consequently she must have foundered in deep water."

ranged for landing, with the fire-arms and gunpowder. The precaution was most judiciously taken, of staving the casks of spirits not required, to the greatest possible extent, in order to guard, as far as could be done, against the fatal excesses so apt to happen at such times among sailors and soldiers. Mr. Dale, however, observes, "That all the precautions of the officers
 " could not prevent several of them from getting
 " drunk ; that they lay down on the deck to lick
 " up the spirits floating there ; and that some in
 " consequence perished in the wreck before the
 " ship parted." This was, however, far from being generally the case ; and the conduct of the crew, on the whole, was in a high degree exemplary and steady. " In the course of the evening, (Monday,) Captain Dundas called the
 " people together, and in a short speech made
 " them acquainted with the situation where they
 " were, as to latitude ; the route they were to
 " take after getting on shore ; and mentioning
 " the probability of their meeting a ship at St.
 " Augustine's Bay. But, above all, he insisted
 " on the absolute necessity of paying the strictest
 " attention to the commands of their officers ; assuring them of his assistance and advice, and
 " that it was his duty and determination to abide

“ by the ship till he could entertain a reasonable
 “ assurance of every one’s safety. This manly
 “ address failed not in producing an adequate
 “ effect on the minds of those to whom it was
 “ directed. It was returned with three cheers,
 “ and their united affirmation of desire to ac-
 “ quiesce at all times with his and his officers’
 “ commands *.”

Though all hope of saving the ship was abandoned, it became essential to use the best means of keeping her together ; and, for this end, immediately after the consultation mentioned, the masts were ordered to be cut away, which had a material effect in lessening, at the time, the

* Mr. Dale’s MS.

It may not perhaps be generally understood, that the authority on board of an Indiaman, after such a disaster as ours, is held by a much more slender and difficult tenure than in a man of war. The above occurrence is accordingly very creditable to the crew of our ill-fated ship, and must have been in a high degree gratifying to the feelings of our respected Commander, who was much esteemed and beloved. It must have mingled a cordial drop in his bitter cup of affliction. The situation of a Commander placed in such circumstances is one of no ordinary trial. The public and valuable property entrusted to him, gone: The lives of those under his command, and committed to his charge, to say the least, placed in the most imminent hazard ; and his personal fortune and prospects greatly impaired, or perhaps ruined.

severity with which the ship beat on the rocks *. The boats, in the course of the evening, were moored a considerable way astern, in order that they might be in readiness for the intended disembarkation on the following day. Numerous fires were seen on shore, which, in shewing that the neighbouring country was apprized of what had happened, presented something like a hope of succour from that quarter. On the whole, therefore, though the prospect was any thing but cheering, there was a sort of suspension of our trouble. The water, about nine o'clock on Monday night, had made free access into the great cabin, and I believe that the lower part of the ship was entirely abandoned. We stowed ourselves, as we best could, in the different cabins of the round-house, where (at least where I was) trunks, tables, chairs, lay in such mingled confusion, that access was not easy. The ladies occupied one of the principal cabins, having temporary bedding laid on the deck †. Their situation was indeed deplorable; but they had main-

* Few sights are more melancholy than the state to which our ship was now reduced. Masts, rudder, every thing gone, and the hull a mere wreck.

† The *floor* may perhaps be more intelligible to most readers.

tained, and continued to do so, throughout the appalling scenes, unshaken fortitude of mind. In the cabin in which I chanced to find a temporary abode, was Mr. Chambers, the chief mate*, and one or two more of the passengers. I do not now recollect at what time we retired to our short rest, but we had little sleep. I well remember that Mr. Chambers particularly, notwithstanding the fatigue he had been going through, seemed more inclined to converse than to repose, and that his conversation was that of one who had more anxiety than he wished to express. Indeed, the surf was then beating against our wreck with such furious violence, that it was enough to "murder sleep." So were things till about the hour of midnight, when a cry of horror was raised, that the boats, which had been moored astern of the ship, were upset! All sprung immediately on deck, and dreadful indeed were the objects that there met the eye,

* Let me here say a word of this old officer, whose dire fate calls forth feelings of sorrow. He had been many years at sea, and had the appearance of one who had weathered many a gale. He had in his deportment a good deal of what might be called "the old school." But though made of stern stuff, he mixed with it much of the milk of human kindness, and used to shew it indulgently to the young people on board. It was his expression, "Boys will be boys."

as far as the darkness allowed, and still more the sounds that assailed the ear. The piercing shrieks of the drowning men, mingling with the loud roaring of the surf, of which the violence, joined with the darkness of the night, precluded any very effectual means of aid, were enough to rend any heart. It was wonderful that any of the people left in the boats were saved, as the only help that could be given was by throwing out ropes, the chances against their reaching which appeared to be innumerable; yet, out of ten, three were thus miraculously preserved, and brought on board*. This last event produced a fearful aggravation of our difficulties and dangers. The boats were our main prop, and that now was gone; while the increasing

* “The people who were saved imputed this sad accident to the obstinacy of the Quarter-master, who had the charge of the long-boat, and who refused to haul farther out, though he saw that the wind and surf had much increased.” (*Mr. Dale's MS.*)

The history of one of the persons saved is somewhat particular. Though going to India in the capacity of a sailor, he was a person of considerable education. He lived to be taken off the Island of Madagascar, and to reach Madras, where, by some means, he became known to a gentleman high in the revenue line, who employed him as an assistant surveyor, in which department he continued nine or ten years, and having then realized enough for his wants, and his health, I believe, having suffered much from the climate of Madagascar,

violence of the wind and surf, made it a very doubtful thing if the wreck would hold together till morning. I have no distinct recollection how we passed the remainder of this night; but in such a night of horrors, there could have been but little rest. God was pleased, however, to spare us to see the light of next morning, which ushered in the day that was to terminate this part of our calamities*.

As soon as day-light appeared, on the 21st, the general attention was directed to the important object of preparing rafts, the only remaining ground of hope. This was done chiefly from planks, and what spars remained after the irreparable loss of the preceding day; but any thing that would float was pressed into the service. The carpenter, an active, intelligent man, sug-

he returned to his native country. I think he belonged to Aberdeenshire; and I was informed by the gentleman under whom he last acted in India, (my friend the present Surveyor-General,) that a vessel in which he had embarked to go to, or come from Aberdeen, had been wrecked, and that he had perished.

* After what we were so miraculously brought through, it is not for me to say what Omnipotence might have effected. But if the wreck had gone to pieces this night, with the numbers then on board, and the circumstance of no preparation having been then made in the way of rafts, to all human appearance inevitable death awaited us.



gested the truly seaman-like measure of sawing off the poop of the ship, so as to render it available as a raft. "By cutting scuttles at proper distances through the deck, we were enabled to lash six empty butts upon it, which helped to buoy it up, and by placing ropes around the sides, there was a good hold-fast." (Mr. Dale's MS.) About nine o'clock this morning, the yawl returned from the shore; and as the surf was running mountains high, with the utmost difficulty came within hail of the wreck, but was desired not to come alongside, which probably could not have been attempted without occasioning her loss. The second officer, in hailing, announced that the beach in-shore was every where alike, a surf covering it as far as they had seen. The yawl then returned towards the shore, and was not seen again for a considerable time, having gone to St. Augustine's Bay, in the hope of procuring assistance. About the same time, several canoes were seen at a distance; but in the state of the sea, it was impossible for any of them to venture near the ship, if they had been so inclined. "In the forenoon, it being observed that whatever things were thrown overboard, drifted in-shore, three or four rafts left the ship with about 60 people on them; and, seve-

“ral went on the remaining hen-coops and empty wine chests, or any thing that would float them. They were stopt by the inner reef for some time, till the tide flowed, when we saw them get safe on shore.” (Mr. Dale’s MS.) As every one who could use active means in the way of preparing rafts were thus providing as fast as they could for their safety, Captain Dundas judged it his duty to use his best efforts to save the ladies from the fate which appeared impending, as their situation was becoming every hour more critical. The embarking on such rafts as could at that moment be had, must have been to the whole party full of hazard, passing, as they must have done, through a fearful surf, and little used to such boisterous navigation; but still the hazard appeared to Captain Dundas to be less than remaining on the wreck. It was his intention to have taken part of the ladies under his charge, and that the chief mate should go on another raft with the others. Having intimated the plan, they were all happy to accede to the proposal, and arrangements were made to go on with it *. But on farther discussion with

* To the honour of the British seamen, let it be mentioned, that the people who were about leaving the ship on the rafts then ready, at once expressed their willingness to resign their places to forward their commander’s wishes.

the chief mate *, the scheme was thought too hazardous to be attempted, and was finally, perhaps unhappily, abandoned. What might be now called our sheet anchor, was the poop of the ship, the preparation of which as a raft had been going on all forenoon, under Mr. Dale's active superintendence, aided by the few hands that could be collected for that duty. It was however found, about two o'clock, that it could not be launched that day, from the state of the tide; and as such an operation in the night was thought likely to be attended with insuperable difficulties, the idea was relinquished of landing the ladies, or any of the passengers, before the ensuing morning, a time, in our situation, immeasurably distant. All forenoon the ladies had been standing on deck, under the lee of the starboard side of the ship, as the most sheltered situation; but the surf, which was then making free way through all the cabins below and above, was continually washing over them. Our appetites, as may be supposed, were not likely to be very keen; but

* Mr. Chambers had been shipwrecked in the *Huntingdon* East Indiaman at the Island of Johanna, some years before; and from what he then saw, he reckoned on our wreck holding together longer than the result justified; and hence was induced to recommend the delay.

whether they were so or not, there was an end of culinary preparation; and I think a little biscuit and cheese sufficed for the day's repast *. Towards four o'clock in the afternoon, the surf had (I suppose) slackened a little; and the ladies were conducted, in the hope of better shelter below, to the cabin of the chief mate: But they had not been there very long, before it was found that the water poured in so fast, that ano-

* In the midst of all this, occurrences that produced something of an occasional smile, flashed across the surrounding gloom. I yet recollect the masquerade, fantastic appearance of some of the crew, dressed out in as many shirts as they could put on their back, with ribbons, and all sorts of finery. I remember one or two of them, so attired, quietly amusing themselves in one of the cabins with a tune, so to misapply the name, on a harpsichord. This propensity of sailors for jackdaw plumage at the time of a wreck, was not peculiar to the Winterton. I have read, though I don't now remember where, the same thing on other occasions. If I mistake not, Captain Inglefield, in his account of the loss of the Centaur, narrates something similar.

A poor man, pretty well advanced in life, who was going out to India, I believe in the mercantile line, appeared equipt in a suit of a different kind, namely, a cork-jacket, to the amusement of the bystanders. He had embarked under much dread of the sea, and was, as may be supposed, a solitary example of this prudent precaution. He reached the shore; but I don't remember what hand the jacket had in helping him there. At any rate, there its duty ceased; and he died not very long after.

ther move was requisite, and they again ascended to the deck, and returned to the round house, which, wet and dreary as it then was, was a little more raised above the surf, and less exposed to the violence of the torrent that was washing over every corner of the ship. Captain Dundas was at that time sitting in the part of the round house that had formed his own cabin ; and his whole appearance is nearly as much depicted on my mind as if the event had been of recent date. He had thrown over him a piece of sail-cloth, or some such thing, as a protection from the wet and cold, and had all the looks of much exhaustion. I sat by him for some time, but cannot recal any thing material that he may have said. I only remember, when the surf was beating with increasing fury on the wreck, his observing that we must expect that violence to go on till a certain period, that he named, of the tide. I farther think that he did not then quite anticipate the final catastrophe being so very near as it was. The surf, however, was at that time much higher than it had yet been ; and a fatal symptom was appearing in the rising of the deck, which indicated that the timbers of the ship were giving way. I do not recollect having seen Captain Dundas any more after that pe-

riod. About this time, when the evening was fast advancing, and darkness beginning to overtake us, I was induced, though on looking back, I feel some sort of wonder that I was so, to descend to the cabin I had formerly occupied, for the purpose of saving, the only thing I thought of rescuing, my letters of introduction, which, to the young Indian adventurer, are valuable and dear as Magna Charta*. I got them out of my trunk, or writing case, and, wrapping them in a bathing-cap, put them under my waistcoat. The wreck had been long gradually heeling to the larboard side where I was, and was now so much laid down as to render the deck nearly perpendicular; so that while I was engaged in my precautionary measures, (which ultimately were of no avail,) a large chest of drawers came rolling down from some other part of the ship, and almost quite closed the door of the cabin. I could not possibly have

* I will take the privilege of a note to observe, (though it be irrelevant,) that though this be a little metaphorical, in truth, such letters are of considerable moment. There is no part of the world where patronage was of late years, and it may be hoped, speaking generally, is still, administered on purer principles than by the British government in India, or where merit is more certain of advancement: but still it is there, as elsewhere, of much consequence to be well launched.

extricated myself; but I kept loudly knocking, and luckily for me, some one happened to pass who released me from a state certainly not en-
viable. In those terrible scenes, it is impossible to call back, at a distant time, the exact proceedings of every quarter or half hour; but I am pretty confident, that, ere I again got on deck, the last awful crisis, that drove us all from the interior of the wreck, had ensued. The hawser and anchor, which had been carried a-stern of the ship in an early stage of the wreck, had produced the effect of keeping the stern towards the surf, and thereby lessening its force; but the fury of the surf was what nothing could long withstand. At length the hawser snapt, and the ship was hove round with her broad-side to the rocks, so that every part became exposed to shock after shock of the tremendous element. This happened between 6 and 7 o'clock in the evening; and there was a cry for all to get on the poop. From the cause, I think, that I have mentioned, I was among the last that got up, so that there was just one person between me and the extremity towards the deck, and from the inclined state of the wreck, lying then almost entirely on the larboard side, many (myself in-

cluded") were enabled to take their place on the starboard-side, which was now uppermost. Soon after this, the ship was broke asunder with a dreadful crash, somewhere near the fore hatchway ; and the fore part was carried farther out to sea, with some of the people upon it.

Before I proceed farther, I shall stop to give a short view of the cool, masterly proceedings of Mr. Dale, and the junior officers, in that extremity, which I cannot do in better words than those of Mr. Dale's narrative, as he well describes scenes, "*quorum pars magna fuit.*" "All this day I was on the poop, getting it "in readiness for our last stay, with the few who "assisted me ; and, in the afternoon, having done "all that we could to it, and foreseeing that it "would be insufficient to hold the number of "people that were on board, it was necessary to "think of some other means. Accordingly, with "the fourth, fifth, and sixth mates, I took possession of the driver boom, and cut it into three "lengths, but found" that would not be broad

* It is with much unwillingness that I speak thus *personally*, but it must be obvious, that in a narrative such as this, it would not be easy to make things fully understood without occasionally doing so.

“ enough, and we had to go down upon the orlop
 “ deck, (at that time a dangerous service), and
 “ cut a piece of one of the Company’s spars: with
 “ these we made an excellent float, like the cata-
 “ marans on the coast of Cormandel. A few mi-
 “ nutes before we quitted the wreck, Mr. Wil-
 “ ton, the fourth mate*, went to the Captain, and
 “ begged to know if he would come upon our
 “ raft, which he declined. He also asked him,
 “ if he wished, or thought it necessary, that the
 “ officers should stay any longer. The Captain
 “ said, by no means; there had been no neces-
 “ sity for any body to stay so long, that could
 “ have helped it. Mr. Chambers, though re-
 “ peatedly urged to attempt to save his life, re-
 “ mained inactive, declaring that he was sensible
 “ all his efforts would be in vain; and with the
 “ most perfect resignation to his fate, requested
 “ every one to watch over his own safety. He
 “ sat with the greatest composure in a chair on
 “ the quarter-deck, as if nothing had happened.
 “ I spoke to him frequently, but in vain; he ap-
 “ peared, as he said, sensible that his efforts
 “ would be fruitless. He would sometimes look
 “ at us as we were making our raft, and praise

* This was a young officer of much ability and promise.
 (Ed.)

“ the construction of it, but would not accompa-
 “ ny us. The last time I saw him, was assisting
 “ the ladies to get upon the poop *. The fatal
 “ moment now approached that was to separate
 “ many of us for ever. The decks were fall-
 “ ing in ; large pieces of the wreck were dashed
 “ with such violence by the surf among us, as
 “ to endanger our lives ; and, waiting for a fa-
 “ vourable interval, we threw our raft over-
 “ board and jumped after it.”

The number remaining on the wreck at the
 closing scene must have been from 180 to 200,
 placed, as I have described, on the poop, and
 starboard side of the ship. How long we re-
 mained in that situation, it is impossible correct-
 ly to say ; but it was probably about half or
 three quarters of an hour. The sea continued
 to rage with unabating fury. The larboard side
 of the ship had been totally beat out ; and frag-
 ments of the wreck and cargo were dashing in

* It was probably when Mr. Chambers was handing the
 ladies down to his cabin, at an earlier hour of this evening,
 that I observed him call, in a peculiar dialect, for a *cheer*
 (chair), on which one of the ladies said, smiling, “ I wish
that could be had.” I was informed, that another of the ladies,
 when on the poop, and when one or more of the soldiers’
 wives were uttering loud cries of dismay gently but firmly
 admonished them as to the inutility of such complaints. (Eps.)



all directions. To use the words of a well-known poem* :

- “ At length asunder torn, her frame divides,
“ And crashing spreads in ruin o’er the tides !” —

while each returning surf, as it came in succession, rolling and towering on, seemed ready to engulph its destined prey. We were, as above stated, about six miles from land. Darkness had now set in; and was only interrupted a little by a faint glimmering light, shed by the setting moon, then three or four days old, that had the effect merely of making the horror of the scene more visible. It was what a painter’s pencil, or even imagination, could hardly reach. Our dangers had been fast thickening from the beginning; but they now so entirely closed and hemmed us in, that there did not appear an avenue of escape. Every thing that human ingenuity or exertion could devise, had been fruitlessly tried. There was no longer any visible refuge, and all earthly hope being in a manner withdrawn†, it only remained calmly to wait the

* The Shipwreck.

† Not to interrupt the course of the Narrative, I shall state in a note, some incidental circumstances and remarks, that may appear connected with the subject. . Where I was

time of impending dissolution. We had experienced to the fullest extent, that "vain is the help of man." But having so done, God was pleased in his mercy to interpose, and to send deliverance to a large proportion of our number, by means the most signal and unexpected. We

placed, my view, from the darkness, was very limited, and I saw nothing beyond the few that I happened to be next ; but I believe no irregularity of any material kind occurred, and that the general demeanour was suitable to the solemn occasion. We have seen above, that there was reason to believe there were some who had, at this time, perished from drunkenness, being incapacitated from leaving the lower decks ; but the number was, no doubt, very small. One person only I saw in an intoxicated state near where I was. He was a quartermaster, and attempted a desperate outrage, which it required all the authority of the chief mate to repress. He was a man altogether of a dauntless kind of character. I overheard him one day, on Madagascar, conversing with one of his companions, who probably had been expressing anxiety about our then unpromising situation, when he cut the matter short, by saying, that the stout-hearted would live, and the cowardly die, like——using sufficiently gross terms. Ere long, however, he was himself numbered with the dead.

My situation, at the time I refer to, happened to be close to Mr. Chambers, who seemed to watch with interest the progress of the wreck, putting questions on the subject to a person sitting also by him, who had been bred to the sea, and who was going out a passenger to India in that line. Mr. Chambers seemed to entertain a faint and momentary idea that the wreck, having divided, the part on which we were, might drift towards the shore. At such times, even trifles afford matter of future interest to the busy memory.

were truly "led by ways that we knew not of." It made no adequate impression at the time; but I cannot now look back on so striking a manifestation of divine power and goodness, without feelings that will, I trust, not quit me while

His shoe buckle having loosened, I remember his asking me, in a half-joking, but significant way, if it appeared worth while to replace it. To my friend Mr. H—, also a passenger, who was on the other side of him, (as I heard Mr. H— afterwards narrate,) he expressed a request that he would remember him to Mrs. Chambers, and tell her that he had thought of her in his last moments. On Mr. H— remarking that their chances of safety were equal, he said he knew that he would not be saved.

The circumstances attending the departure of Mr. Dale, and the other junior officers, from the wreck, have been stated; and his account of the external view they had of the wreck, during the pause, as it were, between life and death, will be no doubt interesting: "I would attempt just to give
" a faint idea of the melancholy scene as we went under the
" stern of the ship. Most of the bottom was gone, so that
" the upper works lay on their beam-ends nearly. To avoid
" as much as they could the violence of the sea, the people
" had got close aft on the poop, and the moon, which was
" about three days old, and just setting, shone a faint gleam
" on their faces, that made them just discernible. One soli-
" tary light burned in the cabin, which only added to the
" wofulness of the picture, while the shrieks, amongst which
" those of the poor females were easily distinguished, at every
" sea that broke over them, altogether made such an impres-
" sion as can never be effaced. In a very few minutes the
" light disappeared, which, I suppose, was at the time the
" poop was washed away."

the breath of life remains *. I before mentioned, that the launching of the poop in the night was thought too hazardous a thing to be attempted, and that the idea had, in consequence, been relinquished. What, however, in the day had been pronounced as next to impracticable, with all the resources then at command, was effected in the midst of darkness as of itself. The ship had been, in the course of the hour preceding the crisis at which we have now arrived, going rapidly in pieces ; and the poop began, at length, to separate from the wreck, which being per-

* It is possible that this may fall into the hands of readers who may not quite subscribe to what is here stated. If there are such, I can only say, that I much regret their opinion should be so very opposite to what can be demonstrated to be truth. My feeling is that of being deeply humbled under the very inadequate sense that I entertain of the divine mercy on the occasion in question, as well as many others. The *infidel* acts in perfect unison with himself who rejects all such ideas ; he has taken his stand, and, desperate as the issue must be, he abides by it. But how any one, believing in Christianity, can have a moment's doubt on the subject, is an inconsistency which it must be impossible to reconcile, and which no one can, I am sure, satisfactorily explain to his own mind. In the sight of omnipotence, nothing can be great or small. We have it on authority that cannot err, that the minutest, as well as the greatest concerns, are the immediate objects of divine control. Our Saviour emphatically tells us, " that not a sparrow falleth to the ground without our Father, and that the very hairs of our head are all numbered."

ceived by those who were on it, they promptly cut the lashings by which it had been kept fastened, after the operations of the preceding forenoon, and the launch took place, bearing about 80 or 100 people. Placed as the wreck then was, it is a wonderful thing that the numbers it carried did not occasion its being overturned, when all must have been crushed or overwhelmed. When they had thus gone, the starboard side of the wreck, with probably about the same number of people, remained without any support, and they on the poop must have been exposed to the utmost hazard of this enormous mass falling on them. But from all those imminent dangers they were providentially rescued, and with the assistance of boards that were got hold of, and which were used as paddles, they made their way through the surf and drifted in the direction of the shore. From the darkness of night, and the noise of the sea, we, on the part of the starboard side of the ship where I was, knew nothing of what was passing, and I can form no correct idea of the interval that elapsed between the departure of the poop, of which we were not aware, and our final separation; but it could hardly have been more than two or three minutes. The concussion still vi-

brates through my frame of the tremendous wave, that, seemingly impelled by more than common fury, dashed against us, and hurled the portion of the wreck on which we were into the deep. I lament now that I allowed the opportunity to pass of obtaining a distinct account how the last dreadful shock affected the numerous assemblage on this part of the wreck. It is not probable, that all were washed from it, or the number who perished must probably have been much greater. But many were washed away and seen no more; while others recovered their situation in a manner almost miraculous. Captain Dundas, who had been on that part of the ship, though I knew it not at the time, was washed into the sea, but recovered his place on the raft*. In the momentary interval, he spoke to one or two who saw him; but another overwhelming wave came, and, washing him again off, exhausted as he must have been, he sunk to rise in this life no more. The forebodings of Mr. Chambers were too fully verified, and he was not seen by any one after our first separation. It was on this occasion that the chief loss of lives happened; the number then lost

* The starboard side of the ship, separated from the rest of the wreck, had now become such.

must have been about 40*. Two young ladies, Miss R~~ace~~ and Miss M~~—~~^{roch}, going out to their friends in India, and an interesting young creature, about twelve years of age, the eldest daughter of Mrs. C~~—~~ were among the lamented number†. In truth, however, the surprising circumstance was not the extent of the loss, but that any escaped. With regard to myself, I was precipitated into the sea, and driven entirely from the wreck. Being able to swim, though encumbered with all my clothes, I got hold of a plank, and clung by it, till one of the numerous surfs came over me and washed me from it; but I got hold of a second, and the same thing was, I think, repeated three times. I was in the midst of a wide mass of planks, casks, and other such things attending the horrors of a wreck, all tossing about in the wildest disorder; and though the sea spared me, how I escaped again and again being dashed to atoms,

* The *whole* number stated by Mr. Dale to have been drowned at the time of the wreck was 48.

† I heard from Mr. H— (in whose lamented death that afterwards occurred on Madagascar, his numerous friends sustained a heavy loss,) some wonderful circumstances attending his recovery of the raft, and that of Mrs. C— and her youngest daughter, all of whom had been washed into the sea; but I am unable to narrate them with sufficient accuracy. •

is truly marvellous. My leg once got entangled in a rope attached to one of the planks, and fracture at least appeared inevitable ; but from this too I was extricated. I have a very distinct recollection of the ~~thoughts~~ ^{ideas} passing in my mind. I did not for a moment lose presence of mind, or hope of safety. In fact, our situation on the wreck had been so perfectly hopeless, that this probably appeared an improvement, in affording something of a tangible means of preservation. I saw nothing in the darkness but the objects that immediately encompassed me, and I thought I was the only person saved, if such a perilous situation as mine could be called safety. I had a confused idea of European establishments in Madagascar, and doubted not, that if I could float on shore, I would find, at every corner, the eye of commiseration, and the hand of help. I am not sure even but something like buoyant gratification crossed my mind, in the idea of seeing new countries and things*. All

* In excuse of my ignorance, I may say, that I had not then numbered many years of life ; and my knowledge of oriental places and establishments was little extended. In fact, however, as is sufficiently known, there have been European establishments in Madagascar, though widely distant from where I was.

I have been led to mention different particulars above, as presenting something of a curious feature in that singular

this was well, and, I doubt not, had its use at the time; but, enfeebled as I then was, with a constitution not robust, and suffering, as we were all doing, from the privations of the preceding days and nights, it is probable that I could not have much longer maintained the insulated struggle. How long I floated about in the way I have been describing, it is impossible for me to say; but the time must have been considerable, as, when I reached a comparative place of safety, we had very nearly, if not entirely, got out of the reach of the surf. This place of refuge was the part of the ship from which I had been originally washed, of which I knew no more than if it had been hundreds of miles distant. Completely heaven-directed, without any knowledge or endeavour of my own, I was drifted alongside of it. It was considerably raised above the level of the water, and I had some difficulty in dismounting from my last plank to get on board of it; but a fine fellow of a serjeant, of whom I still think with gratitude, took hold of me and hauled me up; and to my utter amazement and joy, I again found myself in the midst

compound, the human mind. I doubt not that many, similarly circumstanced, would have experienced much the same thing.

of many of my shipmates. The transition was so very great, that, miserably wretched as our condition in truth still was, I think I had all the gratification belonging to those moments, of which contrast is probably the influential source, that now and then occur to give new relish to life; and, for a time, thought safety quite an assured thing. Our raft, which was of huge size, probably not less than 20 or 25 feet in length, drew a considerable depth of water*, of course increased by the number who had got on it, not fewer than 50 or 60 persons. We drifted for a considerable time towards the shore; but at length, early in the night, (guessed to be about 11 o'clock,) it grounded when the tide ebbed. The night we passed was, as may be supposed, uncomfortable enough, in our drenched clothes, and starving state, with a cold wind blowing on us, and no sort of shelter†.

* It was, I think, about eight feet.

† Perhaps it may be right to notice, that the feeling of cold is much more a *relative* than a *positive* feeling. To speak experimentally, I have found the cold severer with the thermometer between 65 and 70, than when it was much below freezing. One may "shiver in the breeze," who would not at another time, suffer from Icelandic frost. Providence, in view, no doubt, to the varied intercourse of mankind, has endowed the human constitution with a degree of elasticity superior to that of any other part of the animal creation, so

We again floated with the flowing tide, about 3 or 4 in the morning. Whether we had made little way before grounding on the preceding night; or whether, from the land-wind, we had lost what we had gained on again getting afloat, I know not; but at day-light, we found that we had made little progress, and were even in much danger of again drifting back among the breakers. Every rag was collected that could be had, as handkerchiefs and such things, and holding them up as sails, they much assisted our progress, and carried us considerably towards the shore. We were in high spirits, thinking that we approached the land rapidly, as it appeared, from some ocular deception, to be considerably nearer than it really was. The time, however, for the attainment of this object of our anxious wishes was not yet arrived; and our raft, about mid-day, again grounded, on what I believe was the second reef before described; there being an interval to the shore of between three and four miles. At low water, the depth around us was not more than about three feet, so that

that we can (to encroach a little on the words of our favourite poet) waft not only a sigh, but our frames, "from Indus
"to the pole."

there was an opportunity of getting off the raft, and searching the parts of some of the cabins that were under it. We found a considerable quantity of wearing apparel, chiefly, I think, ladies' ornamental dresses, which had been destined for scenes of a different kind, and to us of little use. But we found, what was indeed a most valuable discovery, a box containing a considerable quantity of claret, and a cheese. It was the first morsel of any thing we had partaken of this day, and little had been ate or drank the day before, so that we were all greatly reduced ; and this supply was as new life to us. There was a fair division made, so far as it appeared prudent to go at that time ; and a supply wisely kept in store for future emergencies. In the course of this forenoon, three of the people reached our raft, who had been saved on the fore-part of the ship at the time of her parting. This too had probably drifted to the second reef, and they took advantage of the ebb-tide to wade to us, which they did with the utmost difficulty, being nearly exhausted when they reached us. In the course of the forenoon, one or two canoes passed very near our raft, and signals of distress were made to them, with the cry, " Salamanca dollar,

Salamanca dollar*," but our appearance did not indicate much in that way, and it is probable that they had only approached us to reconnoitre. Happily, however, later in the day, another canoe was more merciful. It had picked up one of our people who had saved himself on some detached fragment of the wreck, and, on a signal being made, came to our raft. The only ladies on this part of the wreck were now Mrs. C and her surviving daughter, about 10 years of age. In addition to the general pressure of distress, affliction peculiarly her own, as has been seen, lay heavy on her; and the interest which this naturally excited, was greatly increased by the calm, resigned fortitude which she wonderfully evinced under a severity of trial as great as the female mind, perhaps, was ever called to encounter. The feelings and wishes of every one accordingly, seemed to merge in the desire to provide for her safety and that of her child, and it was at once decided that they should go

* This is a term quite intelligible in that part of the island, and means to *give*. When we got better acquainted with our Madagascar friends, "You salamanca me, I salamanca you," was a common expression. Some of our people on the raft had before heard it. The origin of it, I am not philologist enough to explain: it is probably merely a dollar of Salamanca.

in the canoe *. Mr. H— as particularly connected with Mrs. C—, was requested to accompany her as an essential escort. I had it in my option to go likewise ; but it was obviously not right that more should go than absolutely required, and did not avail myself of it. They soon reached the shore in safety. Between 4 and 5 o'clock in the afternoon we again floated ; but we made little or no way, and in the night lost ground, and were in danger of being once more entangled among the breakers, which, circumstanced as we now were, would probably have been fatal. We, however, paddled hard with pieces of wood, and, aided probably by the tide, recovered our ground. In the course of Thursday the 23d, five or six canoes came off to our raft, when immediately all desisted from their different occupations of paddling, holding up clothes as sails, &c. ; and several began with much violence to attempt to force their way into the canoes,—a proceeding that threatened to produce fatal consequences, as the natives became irritated, and the canoes were in danger

* The canoes contain, I think, about six or eight people. They are of a very sharp construction, supported by outriggers ; and require great care and dexterity to prevent their upsetting.

of being overset. It became the duty of the few gentlemen who were on the raft, to exert every means of persuasion to avert the disorder likely to ensue; and many of the people were prevailed on to hold back. The proper course would have been to have decided who were to go first, by lot, as the canoes could only accommodate a small number. From the general good conduct of the people, I doubt not that they would have acquiesced in this; but we had been taken somewhat by surprise, and the expedient did not at the time occur. After our protracted sufferings, with the hope continually diminishing of the raft reaching the shore, it was no wonder that many were impelled by the feeling of personal safety to use all their efforts to escape from the forlorn situation in which we were placed. At the same time, those who did not join in the press, had not perhaps the merit of all the self-denial that might at first-sight appear, as the fullest confidence was then entertained, a communication having been opened with the shore, that canoes would continue to come off till all were landed,—an expectation which the circumstances mentioned probably somewhat prevented being at that time realized. Whatever the cause may have been,

the disappointment that ensued, was, as nearly as possible, terminating in the most fatal manner to the sufferers who still remained on the raft. Before I proceed, however, in this part of the narrative, the reader will probably feel solicitude to know what became of the bulk of the people saved on other parts of the wreck, including the officers of the ship. Of these proceedings, I had, of course, no personal knowledge, and the account will be entirely taken from Mr. Dale's MS. and from the journal adverted to in the preface.

It has been already stated, that the poop left the wreck with from 80 to 100 persons* ; and that they got through the surf in safety. Long, however, and dreary was the night, that they, as well as their unhappy associates in misfortune on other parts of the wreck, had to pass. From the number of people floating on the raft, it was found

* I regret that I have not now a general list of the numerous passengers who were in the Winterton. There were on this part of the wreck five ladies ; two Misses B——d, Miss L——, Miss B——, and Mrs. B——. There were also several female attendants, and soldier's wives. None of those who had the good fortune to be on the poop were drowned, excepting one of the soldiers, who, when approaching the land, leapt into the sea to swim to it. But, having loaded himself with money before leaving the wreck, he sunk from its weight.

in the morning to have greatly deepened. There was not, I believe, throughout the night a dry spot to stand on, and having no means of resting, and the water gaining fast on them, so as to be more than middle deep, several, I have been informed, were in imminent hazard of sinking in the water, under the pressure of extreme fatigue, aggravated by the lengthened want which had been now experienced, of any kind of nourishment. In this state their situation in the morning of Wednesday was still full of danger. They were about four miles from land, the raft becoming progressively deeper, and a number of dangerous rocks lying in their way, ~~X~~ Happily, however, both the wind and tide came to their relief; and, aided by the unceasing use of the pieces of wood which served as paddles, they at length reached the shore about two o'clock in the afternoon, exhausted almost to the last extremity. If any of the innumerable difficulties to which they were exposed had operated to retard their progress a few hours longer, it is probable that several of them must have perished. But providentially their course was quickened from the morning, in a way that could hardly have been hoped for.

The circumstances which attended the progress of the Officers were still more perilous, as

will be seen by the following account taken from Mr. Dale's Narrative. "Previously to our quitting the wreck, we had lashed to our catamaran some staves, &c. to serve as paddles, but as we were upset by every surf that broke over us, we lost most part of them ; sometimes, indeed, we were so scattered, that it was sometime before we could join again ; the first that could get on the raft calling to the rest, and before we could well breathe, the same thing would happen again. I lost my hat and shoes this way, and was near drowning often. I had got on a jacket lined with flannel, which incumbered me so much in swimming, that I attempted frequently to disengage myself of it, but it stuck too close ; and sometimes when I had got it half off, a sea would go over us, and catch me in a manner in irons, so that I was compelled to keep it on. About midnight, as the sea breeze had abated, the water became smooth ; we imagined we saw lights, and, thinking it might be the yawl, hailed with all our strength for sometime, but had no answer. Being quite worn out with fatigue, sleep insensibly stole upon us, in so much that we could not sit upright ; and as the slightest nod was sufficient to upset the raft, we lost all but one paddle ;

“ so that the land-wind had full power upon us,
 “ and had drifted us out to sea, before day-light,
 “ to our grief. However, as it was no time to
 “ despair, we paddled with all our force till we
 “ got again sight of the land, by which time the
 “ sea-breeze, and the surf together, helped us on.
 “ But we were so exhausted, that we were oblig-
 “ ed to take it by turns—to give 100 strokes of
 “ the paddle, and then rest. At length we got
 “ within about a mile, and could not work any
 “ more ; but as we were in shallow water, we got
 “ off, and dragged the raft towards the shore,
 “ over a bed of beautiful red and white coral,
 “ amusing enough to the eye, but which cut our
 “ feet to pieces. Finally, about 3 P.M. we reach-
 “ ed terra firma, almost dead with the heat and
 “ fatigue ; but thankful, after being about 19
 “ hours in the water, for our great escape.

“ As soon as we landed, we walked along the
 “ beach, in search of whoever might have had the
 “ good fortune to be saved, and in the way found
 “ the shore strewn with various things from the
 “ ship, of which none were more acceptable than
 “ a number of dead ducks and fowls. Of these,
 “ we collected a quantity, in case we should have
 “ any chance of getting them cooked. By the
 “ way we met with one of the soldiers, who mis-

“ took us for people of the island, of whom he had
 “ not then seen any, and asked us the price of
 “ our poultry*. We must have been strangely
 “ altered, to cause such a mistake. About three
 “ miles from where we landed, we found the
 “ poop, and the people who had gone on shore
 “ on it, and the ladies in a sort of cavern in the
 “ rocks drying their clothes: the sight of what
 “ we had got was very agreeable to them, and
 “ we began to get ready for a meal; but we were
 “ sadly distressed for water. We were search-
 “ ing for it in all directions; when four of the
 “ natives, armed with spears, joined us in a
 “ friendly way, and inquired for the Captain,
 “ saying that the King of Baba wanted him;
 “ and that when he went to him, the King would
 “ give water and whatever else was wanted. As
 “ I was the senior officer there, the people di-
 “ rected them to me, and they desired I would
 “ accompany them. Accordingly, without wait-
 “ ing to partake of our dry morsel, I set out with
 “ them and two or three of our own people, and

* Some of our soldiers and sailors had considerable sums of money. The amount of public treasure in the Winterton was near 400,000 dollars; and when the ship was entirely given up, any one who chose it might take as much as they could; but the weight made this hazardous.—ED.

“ a weary march we had, part of the way over
 “ sharp coral rocks. About sunset, we reached
 “ a little fishing village of three or four huts, but
 “ no king was there. However, we had the
 “ satisfaction of finding Mrs. Cullen and her
 “ youngest daughter, with some more of the
 “ people who had just come on shore, and this
 “ most likely was what the natives meant, though
 “ we did not comprehend them. Here we found
 “ a trade going on ; the natives were selling wa-
 “ ter to our people at the rate of about a quart,
 “ and that very bad, for a dollar. I got a little
 “ honey and some water mixed for a knife, and
 “ made a most refreshing meal. By dint of money
 “ and persuasion, we got a hut for Mrs. Cullen to
 “ sleep in ; she, poor lady, was in great afflic-
 “ tion for the loss of her eldest daughter, an
 “ amiable girl, but bore it with much fortitude,
 “ expressing her thankfulness to God that one
 “ was spared to her. The next day, the boat-
 “ swain made a purchase of a bullock, which he
 “ got for his call, and this feasted us well. This
 “ day, I found a box of ladies shoes, and a chest
 “ of claret that had drifted ashore, both very ac-
 “ ceptable, and after supplying my own party,
 “ got a canoe and one of our people to take the
 “ remainder to those I had left. He returned

“ the next day, and brought word that they had
 “ abundance of every thing, and begged we
 “ would join them. With great difficulty we pro-
 “ cured a canoe for Mrs. Cullen, for she never
 “ could have walked in the state she was in, and
 “ the rest of us joined them. Returning over
 “ the coral rocks, I thought I should have died ;
 “ being without shoes, my feet were cut to
 “ pieces. When I arrived, I found the place
 “ was like a fair, every sort of thing was there.
 “ Chests of wine of all sorts, porter, ale, cyder,
 “ beer, beef, pork, flour, bales of cloth, shoes,
 “ boots, stockings, in short, every thing : And
 “ Mr. Wilton, the 4th mate, had very properly
 “ taken the management of all, to see that no-
 “ thing should be wasted. As the yawl had not
 “ joined us, I continued of course the senior offi-
 “ cer, and with the assistance of the other officers,
 “ got the people into some order, who, to do them
 “ justice, behaved well. A watch was kept at
 “ night over the stores, and whenever any thing
 “ was discovered on the beach, a party was sent
 “ to bring it into the public stock.

“ On Saturday the 25th, I assembled those
 “ who were with me, and informed them of my
 “ intention of beginning our journey the next
 “ day, that they might supply themselves accord-

“ ingly. I recommended also to them to be-
 “ have with order and propriety, especially in
 “ their conduct towards the natives, upon whom
 “ we were now dependent, and must rely for
 “ our subsistence ; and pointed out as well as I
 “ was able, the bad consequences that would most
 “ probably ensue, were they to act otherwise.
 “ My harangue was cheered. We left the place
 “ on Sunday the 26th, on our intended journey.
 “ Our party consisted at first of 70 or 80 people,
 “ amongst whom were seven of the ladies, most
 “ of the passengers, and the officers of the ship.
 “ Distressed as we were, it was impossible to re-
 “ frain from laughing to see the appearance we
 “ made ; it would have formed a good subject
 “ for a sketch-book. Delicate ladies in great
 “ wide men’s shoes, their dress something non-
 “ descript, neither perfect man’s nor woman’s,
 “ and each with a small piece of cloth rolled up
 “ at the back like a trooper’s cloak, which served
 “ them to lie on. The gentlemen all cropped,
 “ both hair and coats, loaded with provision and
 “ bottles. My part of the luggage was a keg
 “ of five gallons, which contained water, and was
 “ slung and carried upon a pole, besides my
 “ own cargo of private stock. I used frequently
 “ to drop behind to survey the motley group.

“ We had no guide, but that was not material,
 “ for we kept close to the sea ; by that means,
 “ it is true, the distance was increased, but then
 “ we had the advantage of the sea breeze, that
 “ cooled us delightfully. Our time of travelling
 “ was from day-light, or before, (for we had then
 “ moon-light,) when we set out, and walked till
 “ the sun began to get hot. The first shady place
 “ that presented, served us for a retreat during
 “ the day, and before we marched again, we took
 “ a slight repast, such as our scanty stores af-
 “ forded.

“ August 28th, intending to make a long
 “ morning’s march, we set off before day-light.
 “ Our way lay round a rocky point that project-
 “ ed into the sea. We were about half way
 “ round, when we were saluted with a sudden
 “ shower of great stones, and pieces of rock,
 “ which fell thick, and hurt many of us ; so that
 “ we were obliged to wade out into the sea as
 “ far as we could to avoid them. We could
 “ hear voices, but saw no one, (it being still
 “ dark,) and whenever we attempted to move on
 “ the stones came thicker. Concluding that it
 “ was for the sake of plunder that we were thus
 “ assailed, some of the party went with some dol-
 “ lars and knives to discover, and if possible to

“ pacify the assailants. They could only see
 “ two persons, but no doubt there were many
 “ more. It was near to where we had slept
 “ that night, and they must have been collecting
 “ in force. After giving them about 40 dollars,
 “ we were allowed to proceed. The supply of
 “ water which we had carried with us had failed
 “ us, and we were obliged to put up with what
 “ we could get by digging holes in the sand,
 “ though what was got in that way was quite
 “ brackish. We this day discovered a pole set up
 “ with a piece of paper, on which was wrote, ‘Turn
 “ to the left, and you will find a small well of
 “ good water.’ This had been done by some of
 “ our party who had separated; for the poor
 “ ladies, not being able to travel fast, protracted
 “ the time very much, and many of the men had
 “ left us, being in want of provisions. This was
 “ a pleasing circumstance to us, and, following
 “ our directions, we found the well in the mid-
 “ dle of a nice shady spot of grass: Here we
 “ stopt for that day, and almost drank the well
 “ dry: It was one of the pleasantest spots I saw
 “ on the island; there were plenty of trees,
 “ which afforded a fine retreat from the sun, and
 “ such a haunt for the birds, that if the well was
 “ left for a minute, they would surround it in

“ great numbers. Our hopes were somewhat
 “ raised to-day, by meeting a native who had
 “ come from St. Augustine’s Bay, and confident-
 “ ly affirmed, as we understood, that the King
 “ George, Company’s Ship, that sailed from Eng-
 “ land with us, was there. The ladies in a mo-
 “ ment forgot their troubles, but I certainly did
 “ not give it much credit, however I might
 “ countenance the report for obvious reasons.
 “ Most probably we had misconceived the man,
 “ for it proved quite unfounded : However, we
 “ got a fine large conger eel from his canoe,
 “ which afforded us a hearty meal. *

* There being here a chasm in Mr. Dale’s narrative, I shall supply it from the MS. referred to in the preface.

On Wednesday the 29th, they continued their journey by day-light. Their apprehensions of being in want of water and other provisions, were this day in a great measure removed, by several of the natives having brought supplies of water and sweet potatoes ; and in the course of the day, they had an opportunity of buying a bullock. In the evening, when they were ready to proceed through an extensive wood, the natives came round them, and begged of them to remain where they were all night, explaining as well as they could, that the way they proposed going by would be impassable. There being no alternative, they submitted ; but not without fear of a renewed attack, a fear the more confirmed, by several of the party having been that day robbed while on the route. They set a strong watch in the night, which, however, they passed without molestation.

At sun-rise next morning, (30th,) a native presented him-

“ The last day of our journey, (Saturday,
 “ Sept. 1st,) we were met by some of our own
 “ people a few miles from the king’s, and were
 “ very happy to hear the accounts they gave of
 “ his disposition towards us. In the evening we
 “ arrived at Tullear, having first to wade the
 “ river, near the banks of which it lies, and were
 “ directed to the king, whom we found in the
 “ midst of his principal attendants, armed with
 “ musquets and spears, sitting on mats, under
 “ the shade of some large tamarind trees. His
 “ reception of us was such as I shall never for-
 “ get. He embraced me with much affection ; I
 “ offered him a present, (it was all we had ; some
 “ trinket or other,) which he declined accepting,
 “ and directed his interpreter to tell me, how
 “ sorry he was for our misfortunes, and also,

self, who they understood had been sent by the king as their
 conductor. He guided them through the wood, which they
 found that they could not have passed without such aid.
 They afterwards returned again to the beach ; and having to
 pass over a number of sharp rocks, the feet of some of the
 party were so much hurt that they had great difficulty in
 getting on.

Friday, 31st. They again left the sea-coast, and struck off
 into the country. Their guide killed a bullock for them, at
 the desire probably of the king ; and they were forced to halt
 this evening earlier than usual, several having become greatly
 fatigued.

“ that he could not think of taking any thing
 “ from us, but that he would be happy to give
 “ us any thing he had ; that the king of Baba
 “ and king George were one brother, and as
 “ such, he should afford us every protection in
 “ his power. After a little conversation, he told
 “ me he had ordered a bullock for us, and that
 “ huts should be erected as soon as possible, for
 “ us to live in. We then retired for that night,
 “ and partook of a good meal, which our com-
 “ panions had been preparing for us.

“ We were eight days coming from the wreck,
 “ though many of the men did it in half the
 “ time. I should imagine the distance could not
 “ be under 100 miles, from what I reckoned.
 “ We commonly set out at day-light in the morn-
 “ ing, which might be between five and six o’clock,
 “ and walked till about nine, as we judged by
 “ the sun; and again from four, till seven or eight
 “ in the evening ; now, if we went at the rate of
 “ two or two and a-half miles an hour, that would
 “ be from 12 to 15 miles a-day, and comes pretty
 “ near my estimate. The real distance may not
 “ be two-thirds of that, but we had to follow the
 “ windings of the shore, sometimes in doubling
 “ a head land, at others, taking the sweep of a
 “ deep bay. The whole extent of the coast

“ from the wreck, was bounded by a frightful
 “ reef of rocks, which sometimes was at the dis-
 “ tance of only two miles, but generally more
 , “ from land ; on which the sea beat with prodigious violence.

“ In a day or two we got provided with huts,
 “ for which we were made to pay two dollars
 “ each. This was not the intention of the king,
 “ but the great men who had the orders to see
 “ them made, thought it a fit occasion to extort
 “ from us ; some of them were sad grasping fellows. As we were now dependent on the
 “ bounty of the king, and uncertain but it might
 “ be withdrawn, it behoved every one to husband, to the greatest advantage, the little
 “ means he possessed, in case of emergency, and
 “ to that purpose we formed a mess, which consisted of the seven ladies, the officers of the
 “ ship, and most of the principal cabin passengers, (leaving the people to act as they chose,) and collected all our little money together, of
 “ which I was appointed purser till Mr. Spens
 “ joined us. We took it in turns to be caterer
 “ and cook for the day : the king, for a time,
 “ allowed about a bullock each day, (that is,
 “ while I was there,) but said he could not supply us with other smaller articles, such as rice,

“ milk, sweet potatoes, &c. These we bought
 “ ourselves. The ladies had generally for break-
 “ fast, boiled milk and rice, or sweet potatoes ;
 “ and a mess of beef and other things for din-
 “ ner ; and the cook of the day always served
 “ them first, and had the honour to dine with
 “ them.”

I shall now resume the account of our proceedings on that part of the wreck which was destined to experience much the largest share of protracted suffering. The canoes I mentioned above, having come alongside at the time of high water, when the tide was turning, we lost, during the suspension of our employments, considerable space, and were again carried farther out to sea ; but this was not very material, as, on the next flowing of the tide, as we had before done, we pretty much recovered our distance. The proceedings I speak of were on Thursday 23d August. The wine found the day before was then all expended ; and we searched in vain, when the depth of water allowed, for a new supply. On Friday 24th, none of the hoped-for canoes making their appearance, and our distresses every night and day increasing in fearful ratio, some of the people tried to make a sort of small rafts, by tearing off pieces of wood from the main raft ;

but the materials were miserably scanty, and there were no tools, so that none had the least chance at such work but the most dexterous and experienced. Some, however, did succeed, and committed themselves to the waves, to go a distance of some miles, on what no one but a very good swimmer would, in cool blood, venture across the Thames*. In the forenoon of this day we laid hold of a barrel of salt butter, which was floating past our raft, to which we occasionally resorted ; but I doubt if the use of it was on the whole beneficial. Parched as our mouths were to an extreme degree, from the want of liquid, we derived at least some temporary relief from the sick-

* I do not now very distinctly remember the circumstance, but I am pretty confident that it was on one of those frail rafts, consisting, in fact, of one or two cross sticks, that one of the sailors (from family or personal attachment) placed the Hon. Mr. A——, and Mr. H. R——, brothers of Lord D—— ; and, holding the raft with one hand, and swimming with the other, pushed them to the shore.

Mr. De Souza, a Portuguese gentleman, going to India, whose name will be often mentioned in Mr. Dale's subsequent narrative, tried his skill, I recollect, at raft-making, some old box being the subject of it ; but he had not gone far before it was overturned, and he glad to find his way back. Mr. De S. had considerable faith in dipping in the sea, as something of a substitute for internal liquid, and I believe he derived benefit from it. Whatever effect is produced, is, of course, derived from absorption.

ing of lead, keeping occasionally a piece in our mouths for that purpose. We were also, either on this or the following day, reduced to the dire necessity of drinking salt water in its most loathsome shape*. To-day one of the people having swam towards a cask that was floating at a little distance, sunk, and rose no more. In the evening, the wind becoming more favourable than it had been, we exerted the little remaining strength we had, in the use of our sails, if so they could be called, and paddles ; but the hope proved delusive, the wind in about an hour shifted, and we once more retrograded.

Saturday 25.—It had now become obvious, that there was a certain point of advancement to which the raft could go, and that it could go no farther, owing to the reef that lay in our way. A gleam of hope, however, yet shone on us this morning, on its being suggested by some one of our suffering party, that it might be possible, at low water, to walk on shore. The idea was caught at with the eagerness of the drowning

* I think that it was on this day that a small chest of medicines was found in one of the places under our raft, and getting hold of one of the phials, I swallowed the whole, or the greatest part of the contents, without in the least knowing what they were, but they did me no harm.

man catching a straw ; and about seven o'clock we prepared for the expedition. We threw off most of our clothes, and went two together, those in advance, keeping the distance, so as to be heard by those who followed. I don't believe that we had gone half a mile, when we found the water so fast deepening, that it was impossible to proceed without swimming, and flying, in our state, would have been to the full as easy. The tide was by this time just about flowing, which left no alternative, to preserve the little life that was now remaining to us, but a speedy retreat to our raft, under the aggravated fatigue that this effort had produced*. On the night the ship went to pieces, a hog happened to be washed on this part of the wreck. At the time I got on the raft, it was running about, occasioning much annoyance, and there was a wish to throw it into the sea. I believe I was instrumental, acting probably from no very defined feeling, in saving it from a watery grave, and reserving it for a more useful purpose. Though our hopes had

* On returning, we found a poor fellow whose leg had been fractured, and who was of course unable to accompany us, on the brink of the raft, where he had crawled, in the intention of throwing himself into the sea. He afterwards got on shore, but I do not now recollect what became of him—I think he died.

been, day after day, disappointed of getting on shore, this was always kept as a sort of security against the last extremity. This last extremity had now come, and as death appeared rapidly advancing in the most terrible shape, it was agreed now to avail ourselves of the final resource, by killing the hog. The poor animal, having been many days without meat or drink, must have been much emaciated, but the supply that it afforded was, in all likelihood, the means of saving the lives of many of us. The part of the meat, I think, that we chiefly ate, was the liver; but, fearful of the meat increasing our desire of drink, we ate little of it. The blood, however, was measured with scrupulous exactness, and gave perhaps what was equal to about half a small tea cupful to each person*. So admirable was the conduct of the people, to whom my memory yet recurs with feelings of attach-

* I think Mr. De Souza was the only one whose stomach revolted at the blood in such a way, that he could not take it, and he gave me his share; a kindness which, if he ever happens to see this, I beg he will be assured I yet gratefully think of. I am not sure, if I were arraigned *in foro conscientia*, for availing myself of this gift, that I would be altogether acquitted. But I dare say, at the time, my scruples were not tenacious. I was then the only passenger besides Mr. De S. on the raft.

ment, that, though we had then before us every prospect of being starved to death, no violence was used ; and, so far as my recollection goes, the allowance was distributed with as much regularity as the stated rations on ship-board could have been *. Excepting the nauseous liquid

* Any one who has been induced to peruse this Narrative, must, I think, have been struck with the frequent recurrence of circumstances very similar to this, reflecting surely much credit on the national character. It must be kept in view, that, at the time I refer to, all authority had ceased ; all were pretty near on equality, and left to the operation of their own principles of action. In such scenes as we went through, many irregularities were unavoidable ; but they were far fewer than might have been expected ; and the general conduct of the sailors and soldiers was in the greatest degree praiseworthy. This recalls forcibly to mind the excellent parallel drawn in the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, (particularly the former,) between the conduct of the crews of the English frigate the *Alceste*, and the French ship *La Meduse*, in the time of shipwreck ; and appears to add no small strength to the grounds on which the judicious opinions there expressed rest. These two periodical publications are apt to differ from each other ; but, on this point of high national feeling, it may be said they are

—*Arcades ambo*

Et cantare pares, et respondere parati.

In looking for a moment to the probable causes of this very perceptible difference of national character, I think there cannot be much hesitation in ascribing it greatly to the superior advantages of education enjoyed by the lower classes of this kingdom compared with any other country. The great defect in this respect, is said to be now happily in a state of

above-mentioned, this was the first we had partaken of for two days, the interval since the re-

progressive amendment in France, under the system of *enseignement mutuel*, which has been here introduced with such signal success by Bell and Lancaster. Much sanguine hope may, I think, be indulged, of a gradual change in the French character, if this system is pursued on a right principle. If not, the evil will be increased. If the scriptures are made the basis and main object of instruction, it is impossible to calculate the effect this may in time have in raising the tone of moral thinking among the people of France, to whom they have been hitherto almost a dead letter. But if the aim is merely to impart a knowledge of reading, without caring how that knowledge is directed, it is only multiplying the sources of deadly poison, and putting into more hands those infidel writers who have already exercised such fatal influence in many countries, and in none so decisively as France. This is a subject that might exhaust many pages; but I shall only add, that we shall do well to look a little closely at home, as there are many parts of this kingdom still grievously destitute of the means of instruction, and many where there are the forms, but glaring defects in the administration of them. How incumbent it is on the higher classes of society especially, to direct strenuously their attention to this object, as one of vital importance to the best interests of their country. It is by encouraging seminaries of education to the greatest practicable extent, on rightly constituted principles, that the only effectual antidote can be applied to the evils that are working their way like a gangrene. It is indeed a strange delusion, that, beholding as we do, the active nature of the artifices employed by the blasphemous gang that have so widely extended their ramifications in this, as in other countries, we do not see also the most effectual remedy that the deeply rooted evil admits of: By other means, we may lop the branches; but the remedy in question strikes at the root.

maining portion of wine had been distributed ; and it was the last it was possible for us to obtain where we then were. Our necessities had become very great. Happily the raft was so much raised above the level of the water, that the sea did not wash over us, and, from its extent we had room to lie down : but we had no kind of shelter ; and the cold of night, combined with the heat of a burning sun in the day, operating on our exhausted frames, had so benumbed some of us, that we could hardly move. So far as I can now retrace my sensations at that trying time, the acute feelings of hunger or thirst had much abated, in proportion probably as the tone of the stomach and system had become relaxed, and as the vital powers began to sink ; and it was more a gradual wasting of strength than acute suffering that I at that stage experienced : but my strength was upheld in a degree, and to an extent that I could never have anticipated, considering my ill-established health at the time our severe troubles began. The Saturday forenoon passed away without any improvement in our situation, or particular occurrence. I believe now we had left the raft to its fate, and were drifted about at the mercy of the wind and tide. All this time we knew nothing of any of

our shipmates who had reached the shore, whether they had been well or ill received; whether they were dead or alive, or what had become of them. We had no idea who, or who had not, escaped from the general catastrophe; all which, of course, much aggravated our sad suspense. On the evening of this day a slight shower of rain fell, the first we had experienced. The best means were used to obtain all that was procurable; but the quantity that fell was trifling, and availed us little. In the course of the following night one of our people died. If God had not in mercy sent us relief, the fate of our deceased companion in misfortune, must have been soon that of many others.

On *Sunday* 26th, about eight o'clock in the morning, while anxiously looking round as usual, we saw with difficulty under the horizon, several canoes, to the number of four or five, that seemed to be coming from the shore. We had been so often deceived in our expectations, that the feeling of hope had much ceased to influence us, and we durst not at first allow ourselves to think that the canoes were approaching towards us. Our fearful anxiety increased as they drew nearer: but in vain would I seek words to describe the emotions of joy that we experienced

when we saw, from the course they were steering, that we were the object in their view ; and that they were the messengers destined to effect our deliverance from the very jaws of the terrible death that threatened us. I trust that none of my readers will ever be in a situation to experience the like sensations, gratifying at the moment as they were. The total number on the raft was not more than between thirty and forty. I do not now remember the exact number of canoes, but they were sufficient to carry us all on shore ; and we had the delightful feeling, which for the moment banished every sorrow, of putting our foot once more on dry land. 'Before' we had walked far along the beach, we met several of the natives carrying water, for which they demanded a dollar for about as much as one could drink ; but, had they demanded thousands, they would have been given, if thousands could have been had. In my early notes, I find it truly stated, " that was not a time for delay ; " they who had money assisted them who had " none, in procuring the pleasantest draught " they ever drank in their lives."

I shall not fatigue the attention, by recapitulating the series of perils and difficulties that we had been experiencing through the preceding

week : but as we had been in fact, during the whole of that time, manifestly standing on the confines of eternity, some observations irresistibly occur on a subject of such vast moment. It is remarked in that interesting little work, called the "Retrospect," the excellent author of which had encountered danger in many varied shapes: "That, in the heat of battle, it is not only possible, but easy to forget death, and cease to shrink ; but in the cool and protracted hours of a shipwreck, where there is often nothing to engage the mind but the recollection of tried and unsuccessful labours, and the sight of unavoidable and increasing harbingers of destruction, it is not easy nor possible to forget ourselves or a future state." If asked whether, in the ordeal that we passed through, this was realized in our case, I should feel some difficulty in answering the question. It is an observation, I think, contained in one of the maxims of Rochefoucault, that "most men die merely because they cannot help it," which is perhaps as much as can be expected in those who have not the realizing views of futurity that Christianity alone can give. There was, throughout our sufferings, much firmness, and a sort of quiescent resignation generally, I think, shown ; but,

so far as I can now recall to mind my own feeling, or what appeared to be the feeling of others, I much doubt if many extended their thoughts much beyond that "valley of death" in which they were about entering. I remember one of the officers of the ship, (who afterwards died at Mozambique,) gaily saying, in the forenoon of the day on which the ship went to pieces, that "he had thought of death for five minutes the night before, and was then ready." I may now say, happy are those who are so, provided it is a readiness such as the Scripture, in terms not to be misunderstood, expressly requires: If it is any thing different from that, the foundation is indeed a desperate one. Few think what eternity is; and still fewer how little they are fitted for it: It is a subject that must, in a very few years, be brought home to every soul that lives; yet it is what not many can, in its vast bearings, now calmly face*.

After landing, we were conducted to the huts where Mrs. C—— had been accommodated when she reached land. We fell in with some of our

* There are some excellent observations on this subject in "Orton on Eternity," a little book that contains much in small space.

sailors who had remained behind, after the main body had moved on towards the royal residence. They gave us some of the wine which they had found on the beach, and which greatly revived us; but it was a dangerous temptation, and, weak as our poor fellows were, very little had a powerful effect, so that several of them became intoxicated. We met with one of the passengers who had also remained. Mr. C—— and he, Mr. De Souza and I, thought it better to withdraw to the shade of a neighbouring tree. Mr. C—— had been saved on the poop; and we had many questions to ask of him, many inquiries to make, and doubts to solve. We learned the movement which had taken place that day from thence; and happy was it that the party had gone at that time. We were informed that every means had been used by bribery and entreaty to induce the natives to go off to our assistance, but without effect. They had probably been afraid of our force becoming too strong, for the very day that the party proceeded on their journey, the canoes came to our rescue of their own accord. We may, therefore, justly consider this as none of the least of the many providential deliverances we had met with. We had not been long under the tree, when we were accosted by

an old man, who, by signs, insisted on our coming with him to his hut, where we experienced a most kind reception. He gave us the best things he had to eat and drink, consisting, I think, chiefly of milk and honey; and at night, he prepared with a sail-cloth, a sort of tent for us to sleep in.

As it became necessary to make preparations to follow the others who had gone to the king's residence, we set off next morning to the place where the greatest part of the provisions had been cast on shore, to provide ourselves with the requisite supply for the journey. This place, which was about eight or nine miles to the north of where we had landed, we reached in the forenoon, and found the beach there covered, as described by Mr. Dale, with fragments of the wreck, dead animals, and almost every thing the imagination could think of. Though much wine, and other portable articles had been carried off, yet much still remained; and we had no difficulty in providing the slender stock we required, consisting of two or three bottles of wine and spirits, some salt provisions, and cheese. We got a good fire lighted, and passed this night very comfortably among some bushes.

On *Tuesday the 28th*, having arranged our store, we proceeded, on our return, to the hut

of our old acquaintance ; but, as it was high water, we were obliged, in our route, to climb over very high sharp rocks, which, from the excessive heat, and the load we carried, greatly fatigued us. I had in the wreck lost my shoes, and the pair I picked up not fitting properly, I was sorely crippled. I have not noted, and I don't recollect, what reception we had that night from the old man, on our arrival, or if we saw him ; but next morning, when we went to him, assuring ourselves of a friend's welcome, we found, as friends are sometimes apt to do, he had quite changed, and received us so very repulsively, that we saw there was no more good to be had in that quarter, and that a prompt departure was our best course. As we had no medium of mutual explanation, we had no means of knowing exactly what led to this ; but though I have no sufficient proof of the fact, I am not sure but our aged friend had some share in the disaster that befel us the following day. Having set out on our journey late in the day of the 29th, we proceeded along the beach several miles*, till we came to a place where a number of fisher-

* As we went along the beach, we saw some of the dead bodies that had been washed on shore ; but it was impossible to stop to perform the duties of interment.

men had kindled their fires. As it was late, we decided to stop there, in which resolution we were confirmed on meeting with a relative of our old acquaintance, who had also shewn us kindness, and whom, I think, we did not see after the first day. He now received us very well: he gave us some potatoes, and we slept all night by his fire.

Next morning (*Thursday 30th*), we used our endeavour to get a canoe to assist us in our route; but having failed, we hired two men who undertook to be our conductors. This negotiation had retarded somewhat our departure; and after going a short way over some very rugged rocks, we found it was time for breakfast, which consisted of a small bit of cheese, and some rum. The fare was scanty enough; but we pushed on quite in good spirits, anticipating a happy termination of our journey. Before we had gone very far, our guides stopt, and as they were lagging a considerable way behind, we sat down to rest till they came up. But we were not a little surprised and alarmed, when we saw them pushing on towards us, in company with seven other natives, whom we had met a little before; and still more so when they began to seize our provisions. Three, weak and

unarmed, had no chance against such odds; and, besides nearly all our provisions, they took from Mr. De Souza more than 100 guineas, which he had managed to rescue from the wreck, and which we looked to as a mine of wealth. But it was found here, as in other cases, that “riches take to themselves wings and flee away.” Our situation now was forlorn enough. We had only left a small morsel of cheese, in a barren country; strangers to the language and customs of the natives; not sure of our road; and far from any place where we could hope for the least supply of water, or any other necessary of life. Such proofs, too, of unkindness and outrageous dishonesty in the outset, did not lead us to augur very favourably of the future. Whether this was a plot in which our early acquaintance had a hand, or whether it was a sudden impulse, without premeditation, is a question which never can be solved, and which we must leave where we find it. We had now no alternative, but to push on as fast as we could, taking the chance of future contingencies. We had not gone very far when we came up with a party, consisting of eight or nine of our sailors, who were resting; but as they had barely enough of provisions for themselves, we mere-

ly halted a few minutes, and proceeded. About three o'clock we sat down to eat the little we had, consisting of two small unripe bananas*, and the bit of cheese which had escaped our plunderers. The whole was little more than a mouthful to each, and was unaided by any kind of liquid. Pursuing our way, in the evening, towards sunset, we saw a canoe out at sea, and the people in it, descrying us, called to us to stop, which we did. On their reaching the land, we found that there were in it three men, who pulled their canoe on the beach, and, having kindled a fire, made us sit down by them. They gave us plenty of beef and broth, which revived us greatly, as we had scarcely tasted meat or drink that day. We were not, however, long allowed to enjoy our meal quietly. They first began to ask our neck-handkerchiefs; and then proceeded to demand money. They took from me some guineas that I had in one of the pockets of my breeches; and were going to lighten me of my watch and seals which I had in the

* The banana and plantain are much the same; but the former of a smaller size. We obtained those we now had by begging from some native women whom we met. We more than once experienced that superior kindness of the female disposition, which the lamented Park so well describes in his Travels.

other, when I put my hand hastily into my pocket, and pulled out, at hazard, one of the seals, which I gave, and they did not search farther*. My fellow-travellers had lost all their wealth in the early part of the day. The headman of the party being able to talk a little English, we collected from him that they had come from St. Augustine's Bay; that the yawl had been there, and that it had returned to the wreck, where he was going. Notwithstanding what had passed, he urged much our remaining all night, and proceeding with them next day. But we suspected that the stripping us of our clothes was the next object of depredation in view, and we had no wish to continue in such company; but thought it prudent to remain quiet till we saw whether the party of sailors whom we passed in the morning came up. To our great joy, they in less than an hour made their appearance; and we took the opportunity

* The sea-water had made the watch useless; but I prized it as the gift of one now no more, from whom I received early kindness. The seal was the parting gift of a school companion. After we had reached the king's residence, the man who robbed me looked into the hut where I was lying very ill, and soon disappeared; but he sold the seal to one of our people, from whom I redeemed it. These *gages d'amitié et de souvenir*, were, with others, lost in another shipwreck I experienced some years after.

of making the best of our way off. Before we had gone far, we found two of our plunderers following us, one armed with a musket, and the other with a lance, to which we had no weapon that could be opposed; and not knowing the means of reinforcement there might be, or any thing of the country, we were travelling in, it was not our business to be tenacious on the point of honour, by attempting resistance. They did not go very far in our track; but we feared their collecting some of their associates, and way-laying us in the night. There was clear moon-light, and a smooth beach, so we pushed on till a very late hour, before we halted; about 12 o'clock, as we supposed. We laid ourselves down; but there falling then a heavy dew, which wet our clothes, as if we had been drenched in water, and having no fire, we had not the advantage of a sound sleep to alleviate our fatigues through a day that had been somewhat eventful to three of us. We had been, as has been seen, twice robbed, and deprived of all our travelling supplies, so as to be completely at the mercy of people of whom the little we as yet knew was in no degree prepossessing. On 31st August, we renewed our journey about day-light. Towards 10 o'clock, we came to a village, where, happily,

those who had no money found the buttons of their coats of much use, as with them we were enabled to buy some potatoes and some water. After a wearisome walk along the burning sand, we met one of our people, who was returning from the king's residence * to the wreck, with some canoes which the king had humanely sent to assist those who were unable to walk. The ladies not having reached the king's before he set out, he could give us no information as to them ; but he gave us useful directions as to the *road* we should keep that evening, informing us that the *road* which he pointed out would lead us to a village where he had himself been well treated. After sharing among our party, now consisting of ten or eleven, two small fishes and some potatoes which we had been enabled to procure, we proceeded. It being high water, we found the way for two or three miles rough and fatiguing. According to the direction we had received, we now left the sea-coast ; and after going a considerable way across the country, we came to

* Those who were on the rafts that left the wreck on the Tuesday forenoon, reached the king's some days before those who remained longer in the ship.

Why we did not get one of the canoes to assist us, I do not now remember ; but certainly none could well require such aid more than some of us then did.

some huts, where was a spring of fresh water. There having been either an entire want of water where we had hitherto been, or it being so brackish, that it was impossible to use it, this was a new and reviving sight ; and the novelty of such a thing, (for there can be no luxury equal to fresh water to those who have been suffering from the want of it,) probably made us drink more than was right for us. We here got a guide who conducted us to the village where we had been directed. He led us through wild mountainous places, and deep ravines, which, after what had happened the preceding day, added to the darkness of the night, raised strong suspicions as to his intentions. They were, however, as suspicions frequently are, without foundation ; and we reached the end of our journey in safety ; but, to speak from what I myself felt, wet and tired to the greatest degree. We met with an old man here, who seemed to be the chief of the place, and who shewed us much attention. In fact, the nearer we approached the residence of the king, the more we found the people obliging and honest. We kindled a fire, and after warming, and in some degree drying ourselves, killed a goat we had bought ; and having plenty of fresh water, and feeling ourselves tolerably se-

cure, it was altogether a somewhat comfortable repast. On Saturday, 1st September, after eating for breakfast what had been left of the goat on the preceding night, we proceeded on our journey at an early hour, with two natives who undertook to be our guides. But, in the forenoon, two strangers overtook us, going our way ; and we parted with the guides as unnecessary ; but we had soon cause to repent this, as we found that, in our weak state, it was impossible to keep pace with people fresh, and naturally possessing the activity of the antelope, so that we were again left to find our own way. We continued our route along the beach, to which we had a little before returned. About nine o'clock in the evening, we were fortunately joined by three of the natives, (sent, I believe, by the king to our assistance,) who offered their services, of which we readily accepted. We then struck off into a wood ; and after walking a considerable way, stopt for the night. They kindled a fire for us, where we roasted some Indian corn, and what few potatoes * we had. It was, I think, during the

* These potatoes are sweet, and different from the European potato. The Indian corn when roasted is very good ; but must be indigestible, being something, in that state, of the nature of peas. When ground, it makes tolerable flour.

march of to-day, under an intense sun, that I became very ill, from fever and lassitude, to a degree that, had I not been kindly aided by Mr. C——, one of the freshest of our party, I must have remained on the road. My feet were so cut from the want of proper shoes, that even if I had been quite in vigour, walking must have been a painful effort; but, exhausted as I was, it is now matter of wonder how I got through the rapid, long marches we performed. Happily we were now approaching the termination of our journey.

On Sunday, 2d September, we set out about sun-rise. Nothing probably but the prospect of being near the end of our journey could have strengthened us, myself particularly, for the severe fatigue of the forenoon of this day. Our route was through brushwood, of height to exclude the air, over deep sand, and exposed to the powerful rays of a burning sun, reflected by the heated sand. After an arduous march, we arrived at a village, distant about two miles from our destined point; but those of us who had no money were badly off here, as the people had become more extravagant in their ideas, and would not be satisfied with our buttons, and such small things as we had it in our power to give, in ex-

change for milk and such articles. This, however, as our journey was so near an end, was but a light matter. I well remember how I mustered all my little remaining strength to put on a good face on rejoining our companions, which we had the happiness to do about three o'clock this afternoon. Woful as the difference was, I felt as if I had got back again to our own country. We had not now before us the immediate fear of being starved ; we had a hut to cover us, and a comfortable bed of dried rushes to lie on ; and we were again among our former shipmates. The most part of them had only reached the end of their journey the day before, so that we had gone over the same distance in about half the time they took *. If every thing in life had depended on it, I do not think I could have gone many miles farther. The fever with which I

* Mr. Dale reckons the distance travelled to have been about 100 miles, on sufficiently good data ; but, to make sure of being within limits, I would take it at 80. We, at this rate, must have walked more than 18 miles a-day. I do not now recollect if any of our party, besides Mr. De Souza and myself, had been on the last raft ; but I think not, so that we started with fearful odds against us. When we landed from the raft on Sunday the 26th, I could hardly draw one leg after another. On the Monday and Tuesday, we had each day a walk that was to us severely fatiguing ; and on the Wednesday afternoon we started on our arduous journey, through the

had been attacked on the way increased, and for some time I was much oppressed ; but it was not very long before I again rallied to a certain extent. X

The village where the king, under whose protection we were now placed, usually resided, is called Tullear, not far from a river of that name, which joins the sea at the distance of about three miles from the village. The river is broad, but not generally deep ; and the water commonly muddy, as if in flood. It will be recol-

whole of which, we had little rest, and were often in want of the means of support, and what we did get, was generally taken at irregular hours, on weakened stomachs ; late at night, and early in the morning, with scanty supplies of water or any liquid, (indeed bad water, or occasionally a very little milk, was the only liquid.) I do not think we were under cover any night, from the time the ship was wrecked, till we reached the king's, excepting the first night after landing, when the old man gave us a piece of sail-cloth as a tent, and the cold and heavy dews of the night, (when we had scarcely any covering but the clothes we wore during the day,) severely aggravated our fatigues. This shews what the human constitution is at times capable of. I have never much relished long walks ; and if any one had told me what I was to go through in this, and other ways, for about a fortnight, the thing would have appeared to myself impossible. I indeed never have entirely recovered from the effects, and probably never shall ; but, at least, I got through at the time.

During the above period, I had never been, wet or dry, enabled in any shape to have off my clothes, most of which had been much shattered in the wreck.

lected that the yawl, the only boat that now remained, at the period of the wreck, proceeded to St. Augustine's Bay, from whence, having been disappointed in the hope of meeting with a vessel which might have afforded aid, Mr. Spens, the officer in charge, returned to the wreck. Before their return, the survivors, as has been seen, had set out on their journey to Tullear ; so that a long interval elapsed without any distinct tidings of the boat, on which our only hope of deliverance from the island seemed now to depend. The whole circumstances connected with the future proceedings of the yawl, having been distinctly and interestingly detailed by Mr. Dale, it will be proper that they should be narrated wholly in the words of one who exerted himself in the performance of the most arduous duties, with signal judgment and success *.

* As has been already observed, Captain Dale's Narrative was written entirely for private perusal ; but the freedom of colloquial style is perhaps the best suited of any to the present subject ; and I have not felt that it would be right to use the permission kindly given by Captain Dale, to make any alteration in the least material. This remark extends to the whole account of Captain Dale's proceedings, contained in the subsequent pages.

Mr. Dale observes—" For some days we remained in a state of the most anxious suspense as to the fate of the yawl, as it was on her safety alone that we could found the most distant hope of relief; the season being so far advanced as to preclude the probability of any vessel touching at St. Augustine's Bay till the next year. Her arrival at length in the river of Tullear, relieved us from the most painful anxiety. We got the boat up to the town, and kept a guard over it, to prevent the natives from setting fire to it, which they certainly would have done, for the sake of the iron, had it been at any distance from the residence of the king. At a consultation of the officers, it was agreed that I should go to Mozambique to procure a vessel, and that all should exert themselves to the utmost to get the boat ready for the expedition as soon as possible. From the want of tools, &c. the carpenters were unable to do any thing more than fix a false keel, and we made two wash-boards round the boat, which raised it about ten inches in that part. I had infinite trouble in fitting her out; in the first place, the only piece of wood that was suited to form the false keel, was a part of

“ the materials with which the king was going
 “ to build a large hut for his own residence; the
 “ foremast was the same, and when, by the great-
 “ est entreaty, the king was prevailed upon to
 “ part with them, I was afraid the mast must
 “ have stood bare for want of sails. Many of
 “ the sailors had brought pieces of canvas from
 “ the wreck, intending to make trousers of them,
 “ and which would alone serve for the fore-sail.
 “ I had some difficulty in procuring this canvas,
 “ but, by dint of persuasion, I at last got it, and
 “ made a very decent fore-sail. The mizen-
 “ mast we stepped against the after-thwart, and
 “ it answered very well. I still wanted stuff for
 “ mizen and jibb sails. I was obliged to open a
 “ subscription to provide this and the other ne-
 “ cessary articles, and got about sixty dollars.
 “ It is not to be supposed here, that I had shops
 “ to go to and purchase what I wanted, but the
 “ sails were to be made of cotton cloths that the
 “ natives make; and vessels to hold water, and
 “ other articles, could only be had from them.
 “ Our next concern was for a store of provisions
 “ and water, having no salt meat. We cut slices
 “ of beef like steaks, which were boiled in a
 “ strong pickle of salt and chillies, and when suf-
 “ ficiently done, were put into earthen pots,

" and the fat of the meat, which was boiled down,
 " poured upon it, so as to fill the pot, which was
 " then covered over with hide and bladders,
 " We made a number of cakes of the maize, or
 " Indian corn, beat fine, and provided a quantity
 " of sweet potatoes, and a few sugar-canes. We
 " took also some live fowls, which lasted for the
 " first out-set. Our water consisted of three
 " small kegs, and the rest in calabashes, (the
 " gourd shells,) making in all about 25 gallons.
 " We were a good deal puzzled with our com-
 " pass, how to supply the want of the glass,
 " which was broke ; and unless the card could
 " be kept from the wind, it was of no use
 " to us. We made several experiments with
 " goats bladders, boiling and clarifying them ;
 " but could not make any sufficiently transparent.
 " Debating how we were to act in this case, one
 " of the ladies produced a pocket book, in which
 " was a small looking glass ; this we fitted into
 " a circular piece of wood to the size of the com-
 " pass : We scraped off the quick-silver, and
 " stopped every access to the air or water, by
 " wax, round the edges ; this answered ex-
 " tremely well, for though we could not see the
 " whole of the compass, yet we could always tell
 " how the boat's-head was, the glass taking in

“ about four points. As I am on this subject,
 “ I cannot help mentioning the very great supe-
 “ riority of Macculloch’s patent compasses to the
 “ common ones. Ours was one of his, and though
 “ the violent motion of the boat, as may be sup-
 “ posed, caused it to vibrate extremely, yet in an
 “ instant it returned to its place ; sometimes
 “ the card was thrown entirely off the balance.
 “ How true it is, that on small causes often de-
 “ pend material results. This, I may say, for
 “ had we not got the piece of glass mentioned,
 “ the compass would have been useless, and our
 “ voyage ‘knocked on the head : The conse-
 “ quences, I need not add ; after all, they were
 “ bad enough. I had from the moment after I
 “ was saved from the wreck, fixed my mind
 “ thoroughly on the yawl ; that is to say, I
 “ was determined to undertake something by
 “ that means, that might contribute to the ge-
 “ neral good. I was not altogether so fixed in
 “ my own mind, as to the place I should proceed
 “ to, till Mr. De Souza * joined us ; and from
 “ the report he gave of what we were likely to
 “ meet with at Mozambique, I determined, if I
 “ could, to go there. During the time that the

* Mr. De Souza, it will be recollected, was with one of the
 last parties that reached the king’s. Ed.

“ boat was getting ready, our people, who were
 “ ignorant of the nature of the scheme, kept
 “ rather shy, until I went publicly among their
 “ huts and informed them that I had resolved to
 “ proceed to Mozambique, and represented the
 “ object as favourably as possible, to engage
 “ some to accompany me. I got about a dozen,
 “ out of whom I chose my number ; but I am
 “ confident there were not many that would
 “ have refused. During this time also, it was in
 “ debate, whether I should go to the Mauritius
 “ or to Mozambique. Mr. Spens was in favour
 “ of the former, as well as the purser and some
 “ others. I objected to it on what I thought
 “ good grounds ; the uncertainty of making the
 “ island ; the great distance to it ; and the doubt
 “ of being able to carry a sufficiency of provi-
 “ sions. The danger seemed evident, and I had
 “ the satisfaction of being joined in opinion by
 “ my worthy friend and mess-mate, Mr. Wilton,
 “ the 4th mate. I had yet another difficulty to
 “ surmount, which was this : Mr. Spens, from a
 “ very laudable motive, wished to preserve what
 “ order and regularity he could among the peo-
 “ ple ; and as this was most likely to be obtain-
 “ ed by the officers remaining with them, he at
 “ first objected to any officer accompanying me
 “ in the boat. I may be permitted, and grati-

"tude to the memory of my deceased friend, re-
 "quires me to add, that Mr. Wilton, who was
 "equally anxious with myself for the expedi-
 "tion, declined taking upon himself the re-
 "sponsibility of going singly ; and, at the same
 "time, said he would not go with any one but
 "me. I was clearly of opinion, that a business,
 "on which our last hope depended, should not
 "be left to one person's management. The old
 "proverb, that two heads are better than one,
 "might partly justify me in that ; but I also
 "urged the possibility of my death, in which
 "case there must have been no one to act in my
 "room. I succeeded in my different objects ;
 "and, at the last consultation my brother offi-
 "cers and myself had together, it was agreed
 "that, after reaching Mozambique, I should
 "freight a vessel to take us to the Cape of
 "Good Hope. This determination was, in order
 "that the expense to the East India Company
 "might be lessened, and it would also afford an
 "opportunity to those individuals who were suf-
 "ficiently sick of their voyage to return to Eng-
 "land *."

* " A very serious alarm took place a few days previous to
 " my leaving the Island. Some of the natives had been to the
 " wreck in search of plunder ; and had returned with many

While the preparation of the boat was going on, the king came frequently to look on, and shaking his head, used to say that they would be drowned, observing, that they had better remain till a ship came, and that he would not let them want for anything. By the 12th September, all was ready; and the boat having been got down the river, sailed from Tullear Bay, having on board the 3d and 4th officers, (Mr. Dale and Mr. Wilton,) Mr. De Souza, and four seamen. With the boat was launched all our hope of de-

“ things of value, particularly gun-powder, and a quantity of
 “ dollars. This our people intended to seize from them, and a
 “ party went with the boatswain, and took every thing they
 “ had, and returned the next day. The natives, as may be
 “ supposed, did not much like this, and, collecting in great
 “ numbers, came to Tullear with the intention of putting us
 “ all to death; and, but for the prudence and spirit of the
 “ king, they would have succeeded in their design. He im-
 “ mediately commanded silence among them, and desired to
 “ know their grievances, and having heard the circumstances,
 “ ordered every thing to be restored; but, at the same time,
 “ threatened the first that hurt one of us with instant death.
 “ Mr. Spens was in a very awkward situation, for they had
 “ singled him out particularly, and at one time he had a do-
 “ zen musquets and spears at his breast. After they had got
 “ their things back, and the king had promised nothing of the
 “ same kind should happen again, they dispersed, dancing,
 “ and with a particular shout which is generally used when
 “ they are preparing for battle. I happened to be bathing in
 “ the river when this took place, and knew no thing of it till
 “ it was all over.”

liverance ; but, in order that I may not interrupt Mr. Dale's future narrative of his voyage and journey along the African coast, I will here insert such observations as occur on the subject of Madagascar.

PART SECOND.

*A Short Account of the People of Madagascar;
and some particulars of our residence among
them.*

THE period of our residence on Madagascar approached seven months; but sickness and death during that time made such havoc among us, that we had little opportunity of enlarging much the limited store of information hitherto obtained regarding that island. I can give little more at present than some general remarks, that may assist in forming a judgment regarding the character of the people, and the nature of the country where our lot happened to be cast; but a general view of this kind, though imperfect, may not be uninteresting.

It is sufficiently understood, that Madagascar is one of the largest known islands, being situated between 12° and 26° south latitude, and about 800 miles in length. It was discovered in 1506, by the Portuguese, who gave it the name of St. Lawrence, by which it was long after known; but its present name approaches more nearly that by which it is called by the natives themselves. The island, I know not if on correct authority, has been divided into twenty-eight provinces; and the population has been computed, no doubt vaguely, at between three and four millions *. This population is quite disproportioned to its geographical extent and natural fertility; but the whole island appears to be subject to the authority of petty chiefs, who, being chiefly engaged in war and plunder, have little idea of turning to a right account the means which the bounty of nature has bestowed on them. These evils appear to have been unhappily much increased by the effects of European intercourse, for it is painful to think, that

* From the known intelligence of Mr. Farquhar, Governor of the Isle of France, it may be confidently expected, that the opportunity he has doubtless possessed of acquiring additional information regarding the interior of Madagascar, will not have been lost.

wherever European discovery has extended, many evils have followed in its train; and there is no modern nation which has taken any active part in such pursuits, that can claim an exemption from a long catalogue of imputed wrongs, or that has not been the author of many calamities to unoffending millions. The French has been the nation principally engaged in the formation of permanent establishments in Madagascar. The nature of these it is not the object of this narrative to trace in any detail, but it may be generally observed, that, from the first attempt to the last, they have been marked by a series of the most glaring mismanagement, and, what is worse, by acts of extreme injustice and cruelty towards the unfortunate inhabitants. The first fixed establishment was formed at a place, called by the French Fort Dauphin, (in about 25° south lat.) under the authority of a charter granted to an East India Company, towards the close of Cardinal Richelieu's administration in 1642*. From this period, till 1655, when the place was successfully attacked and burnt by the natives, and the remaining inhabitants massacred, the neighbouring country seems

* Flacourt, p. 203. .

to have been a continued scene of bloody warfare and mutual treachery. In 1663 Fort Dauphin was rebuilt, and the establishment formed on an extensive scale ; but the same causes continued to operate, and in 1671 or 1672 the place was again taken, and the unhappy European inhabitants shared the fate of their predecessors. The French appear to have perseveringly attached much exaggerated importance to Madagascar as a military and commercial situation ; and in 1768, the establishment of Fort Dauphin was again revived. At what precise period this new establishment was relinquished, I am unable to state ; but it led to no beneficial result. From the earliest period of the formation of a settlement in Madagascar, the French had extended their intercourse to the more northern parts of the island, particularly Foule-point, the Island of St. Mary, and the Bay of Antongil, on a scale more or less limited, as circumstances required. That part of the country is said to be particularly fertile, and the character of the native inhabitants highly extolled. The celebrated La Bourdonnais * remained for a considerable time

* La Bourdonnais captured Madras in 1746. To his great abilities the Isle of France owes much of its celebrity.

in the Bay of Antongil, and drew from thence the resources that enabled him to refit his fleet, which had been much shattered, and to effect the great achievements which he afterwards accomplished in India. It was in this part of the island that the noted adventurer Benyowski, aspiring to the conquest of the entire island, under the pompous appellation of Governor-General, formed the establishment which the Government of France, apparently deceived by his artifices, had been strangely induced to authorize, allowing men and money for the attainment of the visionary object. Terror and confusion were in consequence spread in the country; and much distress occasioned at the Isle of France, where the supplies of provisions, usually drawn from Madagascar, were cut off. The inspection which was in this state of things ordered from France, soon exposed the fallacy of the scheme, and the hardihood of the adventurer, and led to the termination of the extravagant undertaking*. Benyowski being cast off by the French Government, attempted again, wildly, to revive the enterprize with a small equipment which he was

* Benyowski's establishment began in 1772 or 1773, and terminated three or four years after.

enabled to procure in America ; but being attacked by a party of troops sent from the Isle of France, a musket ball, with which he was shot in the breast, terminated at once, in 1786, his life and romantic hopes. I am not informed what military force has been of late years stationed on the east coast of Madagascar. I believe none whatever is now maintained there, and that the relations between Madagascar and the Isle of France are now, as they ought always to have been, entirely of a commercial nature, the latter island chiefly depending on the former for the necessaries of life. The eyes of the French government must have been long since opened as to the utter hopelessness of ever rendering Madagascar an object of military importance, or of even, in the present state of its population, ever turning its commerce to any great national account. Well would it have been if one branch of commerce had never been known there ; the odious traffic in slaves, one of the severest scourges that Madagascar has experienced from European alliance ; and one which Britain has had a large share in inflicting. It rends the heart to think of the miseries which the people of that island must, during a long course of years, have been enduring from this

terrible cause. To judge from what I have seen of them, though well, I may say, elegantly, shaped, they are not a people possessed of much muscular strength; and the temper of their minds perhaps somewhat accords with the appearance of their bodily frames. Their dispositions, light and cheerful, with considerable intelligence, according to the extent of their means, must be ill adapted to the rugged horrors of an enslaved state. I cannot recall, without painful sensations, the sight of the poor wretches whom I have seen landed from the slave-ships at Mozambique and the Isle of France, many, sickly and wasted to shadows, driven along as the lowest description of animals. These poor creatures had been dragged from their homes; snatched from those relations of life which their turn of mind enabled them, in a high degree, to enjoy; hurried on board of vessels insufferably crowded and heated, and brought under the lash of unfeeling task-masters, the most degraded and degrading part of our species. As slavery is very indiscriminating, many had, no doubt, belonged to the better classes in their own country; but they were here all reduced to the same level of misery. It would be well if the potentates and ministers of those countries,

which yet so stoutly, in effect, oppose themselves to the abolition of this hellish traffic, could be made to see such scenes as I have alluded to. If their hearts could at all relent, they could not remain insensible of the indescribable distress, of which, through their means, thousands continue to be every year the unmerited victims; they would surely join in the cry, which the voice of humanity, after the slumber of ages, has so powerfully and impressively raised, and give their aid in proscribing from the earth the commerce of human blood and misery which has so long disgraced the portion of the world which calls itself civilized*.

It has been seen, that our shipwreck occurred within the district of St. Augustine's Bay,

* The slave trade must have, in its nature, something singularly blunting to every humane feeling. We find Drury, who appears to have possessed a large share of right principle, and the account of whose adventures in Madagascar, during a captivity of fourteen years, is, in a high degree, interesting; so soon as he was providentially rescued, actively employed in assisting to impose on many of his fellow-creatures, the fetters, so to speak, from which he had himself been just relieved. We find him, without remorse, the active agent in conveying to the distant settlements of Jamaica, and Virginia, in America, ship-loads of suffering slaves (in 1717 and 1720.) It never appears to have occurred to his thoughts, that he was inflicting on every one of those wretched individuals, distress probably far greater than he had himself been enduring.

which province is called by the natives Feraighner. The Bay of St. Augustine is a beautiful place, and has long been the resort of European ships, as plentiful supplies are there procurable. The large river of Onehagloyhe joins the sea at this bay. The coast here, as I believe, all round the island, is surrounded by formidable rocks ; and Madagascar may be justly termed the “ Surf-girt Isle.” The residence of a large proportion of our people, while we remained in the island, was at Tullear, where the king usually resided ; but a good many also fixed their abode at St. Augustine’s Bay, which was distant about 15 or 20 miles from Tullear. It being thought material that some of the officers or passengers, capable of giving correct information, should be at hand in case of the arrival of any ship in St. Augustine’s Bay, the plan of periodical reliefs was adopted, two generally going at a time, and this was continued till sickness so overpowered us all, as to make it no longer practicable. The journey, which was performed on foot, was very severe, enfeebled as we were, and was probably attended with bad effect to some. The extent of the province of Feraighner is considerable ; and, from what we could learn, our protector was one of the most

powerful of the many Royal Chiefs in that quarter. The name by which he is known is King of Baba ; but I believe this is entirely a European appellation *. I also rather think that *King* is a term little, if at all, used by the natives : *Dean*, in the southern parts of the island, is the general term applied both to royalty and nobility. The natives in the district of St. Augustine's Bay have long shewn a warm attachment to the English ; some of them spoke the language so as to make themselves somewhat understood, and, like the inhabitants of Joanna, they have much delight in assuming the titles of English princes and noblemen. The king's power seems very absolute ; but, whether from choice or legal obligation, it was the practice for questions of importance to be decided in a sort of council of state, who commonly held their deliberations under the shade of a large tamarind tree. The province was divided into several subordinate governments, the chiefs of which came occasionally to render homage to the king. During our stay, no less a personage than the Prince of Wales died at St. Augustine's

* Baba, in the northern dialect of Madagascar, means Father, from which this patriarchal title is, no doubt, derived.

Bay, where he was governor. He was, I believe, nearly allied to the king, and died at an advanced age. As I have already observed, there is much elegance in the general deportment of the inhabitants of Feraigher, both men and women. Their dress too, though abundantly simple, is not inelegant, consisting, among the men, of a small cloth which they wrap round their middle, and of a larger piece of cotton cloth, the manufacture of the country, which they throw gracefully around them as a mantle, or when about to engage in any employment requiring exertion, twist round their body, leaving their arms and limbs quite disencumbered. The dress of the women differs a little from this; in particular, they wear a sort of vest that comes half down the waist. Both sexes wear round the neck an ornamental piece of gold or silver, and bracelets of the same metals, or if that cannot be afforded, an inferior metal, round the arm. Their limbs and feet have no covering. Both men and women have their hair, which has not the woolly appearance of that of the negro, very neatly plaited in numerous small ringlets which flow about their necks. It does not look amiss, but the hair being moistened with a good deal of grease, the practice is attended with some inconveniences where combs are not in use, and

where the plaits, being once arranged, must remain so for a considerable time. The features of the inhabitants of the part of the island to which I refer, are quite different from those of the negro of Africa, being much thinner, and their complexion greatly lighter. In these respects, they resemble much more the inhabitant of India *. Having given the above general outline, it may be better, perhaps, to arrange the few particulars that can be mentioned under distinct heads. First,

Population and Property.—Madagascar has been computed to contain two hundred millions of acres; and taking the population at three millions, this is not more than about one person to sixty-six acres *. In the vicinity of Tullear,

* The men of rank, and soldiers, always go armed with a musket and lance; in the use of the latter they are very dexterous; but they did not excel much as marksmen with the fire-arms. The lances are made in the country, and are very neat; but the muskets are of European importation, and are prized as the greatest of presents, and bequeathed with care as a family treasure.

* The extent of Great Britain and Ireland is stated to be about ninety millions of acres. The population being reckoned at 18 millions; this gives at the rate of one person to five acres. The computed extent of Madagascar is stated on the authority of the Abbé Rochon; but there appears reason to think that the computation is considerably larger than it ought to be.

where we were, the soil is sandy, and not generally fertile ; but towards St. Augustine's Bay, it is considered luxuriant, and the island generally is said to be of this description. A great part of it is wholly without inhabitants, overrun by extensive forests, the resort of numerous herds of wild cattle. In this state of things, little value, as may be supposed, can be attached to landed property ; and, I believe, that with little restriction, it is open to any occupant, whose interest is very much confined to the produce of the year. The principal inhabitants have generally plantations which produce rice, Indian corn, sugar-canes, pumpkins, bananas, which last are chiefly used by the natives unripe, roasted or boiled. The property on which they place their chief dependence are slaves and cattle. The petty wars and depredations which the numerous chiefs are continually carrying on, are quite sufficient to account for the scanty population, and for the value attached to the last description of property, which is of a more moveable kind, in the time of alarm, than the fruits of the earth. There appears reason to suppose, that the inhabitants of the island are a good deal of a mixed race. Flacourt, whose account is confirmed by other authorities, mentions a race of invaders,

who, some centuries ago, came from the vicinity of Mecca, and occupied a considerable part of the east coast of the island. The name given them is Zafferehimini, and they are said to be divided into different classes, the Rhoandrians, the Anacandrians, and the Ontzatsi. The first are the chief class, and several of them appear to have attained royal authority. The Anacandrians are descended from the Rhoandrians and women of the island. The Ontzatsi are said to be generally of the military rank. It is probable that it has been through the means of these invaders, that the Mahometan religion has been established to a considerable extent in Madagascar; though the same authorities mention that a farther importation arrived from the same quarter, at a much more recent period, named Casimambou. They are said to have been particularly instrumental in the diffusion of a certain knowledge of Arabic literature; and to have, in some instances, attacked and subdued their countrymen, the Zafferehimini. Flacourt refers also to a part of the population in the vicinity of Tametave, on the east coast, named Zaffehibrahim, "*c'est à dire ruce d'Abraham.*" It is said that they retain among them many of the Patriarchal names, Noah, Abraham, David, &c.; and to be (or to

have been) held in particular estimation for their habits of industry and justice. The aborigines of the island are divided into four classes ; the Vadziri, the Lohavits, the Ontzoa, and the Endeves. The first are said to be descended from the ancient sovereigns, and generally to possess considerable property and privileges ; the two intermediate classes are, of course, inferior in rank, and nearly connected ; and the last, the Endeves, are slaves, expressively signifying, in the language of the country, “ lost men.” According to tradition, it is said that the whole inhabitants are divided into seven casts ; each cast, beginning with the Rhoandrians, being descended, according to their rank, from different parts of the body of the different progenitors. The first cast is said to be sprung from the brain : and the last (the Endeves) from the sole of the feet. If this account is correct, and I am not aware of any reason for doubting it, it presents a striking analogy with the fabulous origin of the Indian casts. The Brahmans are said to have sprung from the head of the God Brahma ; the Chatrya, or Rajahs, from his shoulders ; the Vaïsyas, or Merchants, from his belly ; and the Sudras, or Cultivators, from his feet. The *number* of casts do not correspond ; but may there not be reason to sus-

pect something of a compliment paid to the invading Arabs, and that they are as grafts attached to the original stem*? A singular custom also exists in the east, and southern parts of the island, of which the authenticity seems fully established, viz. that it is only the highest classes that have the privilege of killing cattle; and that it must be done by the hand of the chief, or of some one who can claim affinity to him. In addition to the French authorities, Drury narrates, that, during his captivity, he was promoted to the honour of being a butcher, as his master found the calls to go sometimes several miles on this duty an onerous service. Drury was considered worthy of this preferment, from the supposed circumstance of his having been the son of the captain of his ship, whose rank was judged equal to that of a king. All that was required of him was to cut the throat of the animal; the other offices being performed by the parties themselves. I have no wish to indulge in fanciful conjectures; but there seems here something of the reverence that the Hindoos

* In hazarding an idea of this kind, I am perfectly aware of the insufficiency of the grounds; but it may possibly, at least, afford subject of farther inquiry.

to this day evince for the bullock. If ever the superstition was imported into Madagascar, it is now evidently relaxed; but there would almost appear to have been a compromise between the scruples of conscience and convenience; and, while it was decided that the animal should fall, it seems to have been thought a salvo, to guard it at least from falling by an ignoble hand. I think I may confidently state, that the practice does not extend to the part of the island where we were. There, when a bullock is to be killed, much to the joy of the inhabitants, they fall to without scruple or demur, with what appetite they may.

Language.—I am not certain that I would have hazarded the surmises above suggested, if the fact of early connection between the race of inhabitants in Madagascar and the Hindoos, had not been distinctly established by the most unquestionable of all evidences, the affinity of language*. We have it on the authority of the

* In comparison with this, any inference derivable from features or complexion, appears to weigh light in the scale. These are varied in a thousand shapes and instances, by climate, occupation, and other incidental causes. This interesting subject has been illustrated by Buffon, and was discussed with much ability a considerable number of years ago by Dr. S. S. Smith of Philadelphia, in an Essay, for which he receiv-

great oriental luminary, Sir William Jones*, that the dialects of the Sumatran language are derived from the Sanscrit, the parent of the languages spoken throughout India, and we are informed by Mr. Marsden and other eminent writers, that the same language is “indigenous to all the islands of the Eastern Sea, from Madagascar to the remotest of Captain Cook’s discoveries †.” Mr. Marsden again remarks, “that one general language prevailed, (however mutilated and changed in the course of time,) throughout all this portion of the world, from Madagascar to the most distant discoveries eastward, of which the Malay is a dialect,” &c. “This very extensive similarity of language indicates a common origin of the inhabitants; but the circumstances and progress of their separation are wrapped in the darkest veil of

ed the thanks of the Philosophical Society of that place. Dr. Smith appears to have successfully refuted the fallacies on this point of Lord Kaimes.

* Eighth Asiatic Discourse. To this extraordinary man may be justly applied his own elegant expressions with regard to Sir Isaac Newton: “That he advanced nothing in science without demonstration, and nothing in history without such evidence as he thought conclusive.” We may also apply the words of another author of high name, “*nullum quod tetigit, non ornavit.*” His compositions have the charm of Midas’s touch in turning all to gold.

† History of Sumatra, p. 162, (1st Edit.)

“ obscurity.” Any few words of the Madagas-
 car language that I may have ever known, have
 long since vanished from the memory ; but I
 happen to have kept a note of several of the num-
 bers in use at St. Augustine’s Bay, and I find
 that they almost, word for word, agree with the
 numbers of the *Lampoon* dialect in Sumatra, gi-
 ven by Mr. Marsden. To those at all acquaint-
 ed with the writings of Sir William Jones, it is
 sufficiently known that he has demonstrated the
 interesting fact, that the languages of India, ex-
 tending through the vast range above mention-
 ed, and the Greek and Latin, with most of the
 languages of modern Europe, are sprung from
 the same source, all having taken rise from the
 primeval language of Persia. Flacourt wrote
 about a century and a half ago, at which time
 Indian literature, to the European world, “ lay
 “ hid in night;” his observation, therefore, has the
 merit of taking the lead of subsequent discove-
 ries, and of being unaided by them, when he
 says, referring to the language of Madagascar,
 “ La langue est unique et seule dans toute l’Isle,
 “ qui a en beaucoup de choses quelque rapport
 “ avec la langue Grecque, soit en sa façon de par-
 “ ler, soit dans la composition des mots et des
 “ verbes.” I am led at the same time to ob-

serve, that this statement, as to the sameness of the language spoken in Madagascar, seems not quite reconcileable with the understood fact of a Mahometan Invasion, as the language of the conquerors could scarcely have wholly merged in a short space of years, in that of the conquered, especially as the Arabic character and writing is said to have been brought into extensive use *. I have no wish to entangle myself or the reader in the labyrinth of attempting to trace the channels through which the tide of population may have first flowed to Madagascar; but shall just observe, that the division of casts opposes no absolute bar to the possible circumstance of the early inhabitants having proceeded by the Persian or Arabian gulphs, though belonging to the Hindoo stem, as we are assured by the same high authority above referred to, that the Hindoo division of casts had already taken place in the early ages of the world, previously to the great migration of the tribes who peopled India, from Persia, to that country. Any knowledge of literature that exists in Madagascar, appears, as has been stated, to be of Arabic origin, and to be almost exclusively confined to

* There appears strong internal evidence that much of the work referred to, was not written by Flacourt, but probably by one of the priests who accompanied him to Madagascar.

the east side of the island. They there understand the making of paper from the bark of a tree; of ink, from the decoction of a particular sort of wood, and of pens from the bamboo, nearly such probably as are used in India. Our friends in the province of Feraighner, with many good qualities, are certainly not men of letters. With an immaterial exception, I do not recollect to have seen, or to have heard, of any vestige of writing among them.

Religion.—On the authority of Drury, I may state, that the people of the southern parts of Madagascar acknowledge and adore one supreme God, whom they call Dean Unghorray; and that there are four other subordinate divinities, who are considered to preside over the four quarters of the world, (meaning probably the four cardinal points,) and that they are looked to as mediators between men and the supreme being, and worshipped with sacrifices. Our means of intercourse were not such as to enable us to form any correct views on this point, as it was only in a very general way that we could make known our ideas to each other. If acts of superstition could be considered as synonymous with those of devotion, we frequently saw the natives engaged in such; but I have no recollection of

ever having seen any of them engaged in any direct adoration of the supreme Power. We saw no temple nor place of public worship. There was only in several villages a large tamarind tree, which seemed to be viewed in a sort of sacred light, and protected with particular care. When any were sick, the neighbours used to assemble round the door, and make a great noise, singing, clapping their hands, and beating the ground with their feet—a strange cure, no doubt, for sickness. When the sufferer happened to be a person of rank, the melody was increased by the loud beating of a drum, and by the blowing of a large shell *. In cases of much danger one or more bullocks used to be sacrificed; and the mode of sacrifice was understood to vary according to the indisposition, but the result was always the same, a division of the sacrifice among the friends. It was, however, reckoned unlawful to give any part of the bullocks thus sacrificed to dogs. The men wear about their necks a small leathern bag, with two or three pieces of a particular

* The drum is made of a cylindrical form, covered with bullock's hide at each end. The shell is the same as the well-known conche, described in Captain Cook's account of the island in the Pacific Ocean. Those noises used to be sometimes at night a great annoyance.

kind of wood, and alligators teeth, which is called an Owley, and to which they attach the highest reverence, conceiving it to be a faithful monitor, and a sure protection against calamity. They will not stir from home on any account without it; and it is suspended near their bed as their guardian during the night. It is, I imagine, much the same as the greegrees, so well known among the natives of the west coast of Africa*. There are few parts of the world where the pernicious science of witchcraft and necromancy is practised more than here. They have the fullest reliance in the efficacy of spells, if duly prepared by the conjurors, named Umos-see; and those practices are said, according to various authorities, to operate to a destructive extent, in occasioning the death of many children, born in what are reckoned unlucky months, and unlucky days, and hours†. While we were in Madagascar, I did not hear of any circumstance of this kind occurring. It is probable,

* I have not noted, and do not now remember, if the women use the owley or not.

† The days of the week are divided with them as ours. Their month is, I believe, the lunar month. In talking of any space of time, they reckon according to the number of moons. Probably most of their astronomical knowledge is derived from the Arabs.

therefore, that if it did occur, it was concealed from us. Perhaps, too, nature may have begun in some parts of the island to assert her rights ; and as the distant sun affords a faint glimmering to the benighted inhabitants of the polar region, so the increasing light of the present age may be shedding a gleam on the inhabitants of Madagascar. The ray is indeed very feeble ; but I think hope may be entertained of its shining, at no distant time, with more brightness. The conjurors also officiate as physicians* ; and

* Dr. Robertson describes this combination of trades to have existed among the Indians of America, in terms very much applicable to Madagascar ; and illustrates the cause with his usual perspicuity. *Hist. of America*, Vol. i. p. 389.

The same thing as is now practised in Madagascar with respect to necromancy, &c. appears to have existed from the most remote antiquity. Moses commands the children of Israel, (Leviticus, 19th Chap.) “ not to use enchantment, nor “ observe times.” Again, it is said, in Deuteronomy, (18th Chap.) “ There shall not be found among you any one that “ maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or “ that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer.”

About eight centuries later, the practice still existed among the idolatrous nations in and around Judea ; and we find Manasseh, one of the Kings of Judah, guilty of it, (2d Kings, 21st Chap.) “ And he made his son pass through the fire, “ and observed times, and used enchantments, and dealt with “ familiar spirits, and wizards ; he wrought much wickedness in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger.”

though in general very formidable in the former capacity, it would appear that their situation is not exempted from danger. I recollect one forenoon, we were somewhat alarmed by a great uproar, occasioned by the sudden execution of sentence of death passed on a person of that description. It was said, that he had been attending a relation of the king, who had been ill, and, in consequence of that illness, died. I believe sentence was pronounced by the king himself. So soon as it was so, the poor man tried to make his escape, and took to flight. But he was immediately pursued by an armed party, who overtook him about half a mile from our huts, and dispatched him with many stabs of their spears. The body was not allowed to be interred, but was left to be devoured by dogs. I did not hear under what count of indictment he was tried, whether failure in the science of necromancy or physic *. Among their religious usages may be reckoned

* The science of witchcraft has now by some means got into disuse in this country ; but perhaps Madagascar might furnish a useful hint to our legislature, with regard to the many learned persons, who, without any knowledge of the patient's case, have the art to cure " the thousand ills to which human flesh " is heir," and to set the king of terrors himself at open defiance.

the use of the ordeal, which is frequent in Madagascar. But, if we may judge from a specimen which I have noted, their ordeal is much less formidable than that familiar to us, of hot coals or plough-shares. What I saw, was in the case of a man accused of theft. He tried to vindicate himself, but failed to do so satisfactorily ; and it was decided that he should drink some of the blood of a bullock, which, in case of guilt, would, it was understood, prove poisonous. A bullock was accordingly brought and thrown on the ground, when one of the council who had been assembled, repeated a long prayer full of anathemas against the accused, if he was guilty. All the while he continued striking the animal with the flat part of the head of a lance which he held in his hand, and, having finished the prayer, he stabbed the bullock in the back, and caught some of the blood in a cup. He then put into it a piece of gold, which the king wore about his neck, and which the king, who was present, gave for the purpose, and presented it to the culprit, who readily drank it ; and, as he certainly did not die, we are bound to believe in his perfect innocence. The animal was then killed, and shared the never-failing fate of being divided and devoured by the attendants ~~with~~

eager appetites *. Among the superstitions may be reckoned the prevailing one regarding salt, which exists in so many shapes in various parts of the world †. It is a mortal offence in the Madagascar eye to put salt into milk, or any thing with which milk is mixed, as they think that doing so will be fatal to the cows. I am not certain if they have yet discovered the infallible remedy of throwing some quickly over the right or left shoulder, (I am not sure which ; but the safest course may be to try both.) Before quitting this subject, I shall just add, that the only record of any kind that we saw or heard of, were several sheets of writing paper, deposited in the hands of one of the Umossee at St. Au-

* Much the same form is mentioned by Mr. Marsden, as being practised in the administration of oaths in Sumatra.

† In various passages of the Old Testament, we find a sacred importance attached to the use of this article, to a perverted construction of which may be probably traced the notions referred to : " Neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat-offering : with all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt," (Leviticus, 2d Chap.) " It is a covenant of salt for ever before the Lord unto thee, and to thy seed with thee," (Numbers, 18th Chap.) &c.

To this day, in India, it is common for the dependant of a chief, to convey the idea of fidelity on the one side, and protection on the other, by saying that he had ate for such a time, his master's salt.

gustine's Bay. I did not see it; but, from the description of others, it was no doubt a paper relating to some magical process, and was probably in the Arabic language.

Climate.—The climate of Madagascar is universally considered as unhealthy. It appears from the French accounts, that a large proportion of the troops belonging to their early establishments, perished from the diseases of the country. Flacourt gives an account of a fortified post having been occupied at St. Augustine's Bay, in 1642, by an English force of about four hundred men, of whom, in the course of two years, three-fourths are said to have died*; and other events of a similar kind might be mentioned. The sufferers of the Winterton may however, be adduced as a more recent example. During the seven months we were in the Island, we lost from 80 to 100 of our small number. I have known three interred in one day; and those who lived to get off the Island, had been almost

* Whatever may have been the object of this force, it is stated as matter of reproach, but in truth ought to be so as creditable, that they had incurred the hatred of the natives, by observing a strict neutrality, and declining all interference with their quarrels. The hatred, if it ever existed, has long since ceased, and given place to feelings of a very different kind.

all again and again brought to the gates of death. The Island is so over-run with trees and brushwood, that it would be contrary to the general experience of a tropical country under such circumstances, to be otherwise than unhealthy, especially during the season of the rains and heat, by which the noxious exhalations are of course greatly increased. We were there during what may be called the unhealthy season; but providentially, the fall of rain that year was in a very unusual degree slight, not perhaps exceeding four or five showers. We were not aware of the effect the rains would have had, and were often watching the clouds, in the hopes that they would send down their torrents to refresh the air. This is one of many instances how apt we often are eagerly to desire what would be baneful to us; for, if the rain had so come, it would not have failed to have greatly increased the mortality. After all, though much cannot be said in behalf of the Madagascar climate, which probably never will be healthy till the natives betake themselves more to agriculture, and to the clearing of the lands; at the same time, there are some palliating circumstances to be taken into the account. We should not, perhaps, attach much importance to the experience of re-

mote times, when the sciences of navigation and medicine, as well as most others were at a low ebb. I shall once more refer to Flacourt, for the purpose of observing, that he lays down a sort of code of Indian "health and longevity," and if some of the rules that he recommends were observed, the wonder is not that the people died, but that any of them lived; *e. g.* "Ils se doivent faire saigner tous les mois, et infalliblement, ils se garantiront de ces grandes maladies *." In our particular situation, we

* In order that the reader may have in view a short account of the rude state of the Indian equipments about two centuries ago, I shall insert the following extract from Harris's voyages, being part of an account of two French ships that went on a voyage of adventure to India in 1601. I am induced also particularly to do so, as it gives a short history of St. Augustine's Bay, though it be in some respects inapplicable at present.

Extract from an account of the Voyage of Francis Perard de Laval to the East Indies, &c.

"We met, January the 6th, 1602, with a violent storm, in which one of our seamen fell over board, and his companion would have jumped after him if we had not prevented him; though, after all, I took his offer to be the effect of wine rather than true affection; for there is but little friendship among sea-faring men. Pursuing our course, we steered by the country of Natal, upon the coast of Ethiopia, without any storm, which was uncommon in those seas; for, between the 35° and 28°, they are never, almost, without

must lay the mortality we experienced to the charge of the climate, with some modification. We were at our first landing exposed to many hardships, and particularly to the severe effects

“ violent storms. After that, we mistook our course, through
 “ the ignorance of the pilot ; and, on the 4th of February,
 “ finding ourselves on the land-side of St. Laurence, tacked
 “ about, in order to make the other side. February the 7th,
 “ having passed that Island, according to our wishes, we were
 “ surprised all on a sudden, by a violent storm from the south-
 “ west, being less acquainted with those seas than the Portu-
 “ guese, who make timely provisions for such accidents. In
 “ the storm, it was so dark at noon-day, that we could not see
 “ the heavens, or one another : Our two ships were separated,
 “ and our sails were tore to rags ; such was the force of the rain
 “ and wind, that they wounded our faces like so many lashes
 “ of whip cord. The waves swelled so high, and washed in
 “ upon the ship, that we could not stand upon the deck. In
 “ this place we continued four days and four nights, and
 “ some of the men that were on board applied themselves to
 “ devout exercises, while the sailors redoubled their oaths and
 “ blasphemies. Our antientest pilots and seamen protested
 “ they never encountered such a tempest ; but the business
 “ was, they never had been in those seas, which swell higher
 “ than elsewhere.

“ On the 11th, the storm being over, we stood in for St.
 “ Laurence, being much disabled. All our men were in a
 “ manner half dead ; and we had not a man on board, but a
 “ Dutch gunner, that had ever been in the Indies before.
 “ When we came within forty or fifty leagues of the Island,
 “ the sea appeared yellowish and frothy, and was covered
 “ with reeds and floating herbs, which continued to appear
 “ on its surface till the 19th, that we arrived and cast anchor
 “ at St. Augustine’s Bay, in 23° 30’ south latitude. This
 “ Bay is large, and very convenient, having an excellent

of a scorching sun by day *, and heavy dews by night. The diet of many of us for a considerable time was of a coarse kind, as we could at first afford to buy little milk, and breakfasted, if

“ ground of clay and sand. The same day the Croissant re-
 “ joined us, after twelve day’s separation, and was more dis-
 “ abled than we. The seamen being scorbutic, we marked
 “ out a place on the shore for our sick, and at the same time
 “ a Dutch ship was forced into the same harbour by stress of
 “ weather, which had not one sick hand on board. The na-
 “ tives gave us cattle, fowls, honey, and fruit, in exchange
 “ for knives, scissars, and trinkets of little value; but the
 “ place was so unhealthy that many of our men died, partly
 “ by the scurvy and partly by a phrenitic fever. We lay di-
 “ rectly under the tropic of Capricorn, and the sun-beams
 “ darted upon us almost in a perpendicular line. Some of
 “ them had their legs scorched and ulcerated through their
 “ stockings; nay, the extreme heat would have incommoded
 “ us more, if it had not been for the conveniency of a fine ri-

* Any one in the least acquainted with a hot climate, knows how destructive this is to all new comers from Europe, and that no advantages in other respects can counteract the effect of such exposure. I recollect hearing, that, during the war with Hyder Alli, a European regiment, which had newly arrived from England at Madras, was, at that period of emergency, ordered immediately to march, and before they had gone fifty miles, I think about half the regiment was in hospital. Hence it will be none of the least of the national benefits resulting from the Cape of Good Hope and Isle of France, that there may be intermediate entrepôts for the troops proceeding to India, and thereby save many valuable lives.

I remember right, frequently on beef, and other things indigestible to weakened stomachs. We had no restoratives of any kind,—wine, or such like. We could be hardly said to have any me-

“ ver to bathe in, and the shades of a large wood. We were
 “ posted at the foot of a great mountain, which was covered
 “ with infinity of large lizards that offered no hurt to any bo-
 “ dy. The wood was replenished with an innumerable quan-
 “ tity of little monkies and apes, which entertained us with a
 “ continual shew of dancing about, and skipping from tree to
 “ tree. Parrots are there very numerous, and make an agree-
 “ able harmony with their various and warbling notes. Not
 “ to mention the indiscretion of our men in over-feeding in so
 “ hot a climate, and the pernicious consequences that attend-
 “ ed it, I shall only take notice farther of the unspeakable un-
 “ easiness from the flies by day, and the gnats that pester-
 “ ed us by night, in piercing the flesh till the blood came,
 “ and an inflammation ensued. This inconvenience was so
 “ cutting, that some crept into sacks and bags, leaving only
 “ a small hole to breathe through, and all of us were forced
 “ to make fires and lie down in the midst of the smoke.

“ The Island of St. Laurence is 700 leagues in circum-
 “ ference. It lies between 26° and 14° south latitude. It
 “ abounds in cattle, especially sheep, which bring forth
 “ three or four lambs at a time ; the cattle are not appropriat-
 “ ed, but common to all that catch them ; for the inhabitants,
 “ and indeed most of the other Indians, chuse rather to feed
 “ on fish, fowl, and milk. It is common there to see two or
 “ three hundred bulls and cows in one herd, and when they
 “ come to cross a broad deep river the cows raise their heads
 “ upon the bulls rumps, and so get over. We anchored at
 “ the mouth of a river that afforded great plenty of fish and
 “ crocodiles ; and when we killed a crocodile, and took out

dicines, as the few emetics, and a little calomel, that by some means had been saved, were treasured as their weight in gold, and only resorted to in extreme cases during their short duration. The medicines to which we betook ourselves did probably more harm than good, viz. tobacco juice and sea water *; and it might have

“ its entrails, we observed that, like musk, they made a very
 “ agreeable perfume in the air. The natives are of a tawny
 “ olive colour, inclining to red, they are tall, straight, well
 “ made, and not only of a ready apprehension but wise; their
 “ hair is long and wreathed into tresses. They are naked all
 “ over excepting their middle, which is covered with cotton
 “ cloth. The women wear one piece of cloth that covers them
 “ from under their breast to their girdle, and another that
 “ reaches from thence to their knees, their heads being bare
 “ and shaved. Their arms are darts and javelins called aza-
 “ gaves, for the noise of a gun frights them exceedingly. It
 “ is said this Island was formerly peopled by the Chinese,
 “ upon the occasion of a ship being cast away upon that
 “ coast: and indeed they resemble the Chinese very much,
 “ bating that their complexion is not near so white, which
 “ perhaps may proceed from their going naked, and living in
 “ the torrid zone. At present the Island is very populous, and
 “ governed by several kings that wage war with one ano-
 “ ther: some of the inhabitants are Mohammedans, and cir-
 “ cumcised, and the rest are Pagans. The inland parts of
 “ the Island are in great want of water.

* I am satisfied that some of the gentlemen did themselves much injury, by systematically resorting to sea-water, even, when in tolerable health, under the mistaken idea that they

been in some cases, at least, better, that nature had been allowed to take an uninterrupted course. For six weeks after our arrival, a tolerable degree of health was generally enjoyed; and it was probably from the continued operation of some of the causes mentioned, combined with the increasing unhealthiness of the climate as the rainy season advanced, that the fatal change ensued.

Productions Animal and Vegetable.—Our personal observation on these points having been of the most limited kind, I shall add little regarding them, to the incidental remarks which have already occurred. The animal of all others deserving of notice is the bullock, which is of a very superior description. It is distinguished by a large hump on the upper part of the shoulder, which I believe, when salted, is reckoned a great delicacy. As I have already noticed, cattle form one of the chief objects of property in this island; and there are large herds of wild cattle which roam the forests, and are occasionally hunted. There are no horses here,

would thereby guard against bilious attacks, which it was almost the infallible way of exciting. I believe none survived of those who practised this.

nor any animal used for agricultural or other such purposes, the tillage being generally managed by slaves. There are many dogs, which range about as at the Cape of Good Hope ; and so far as my recollection extends, it is not much the practice to domesticate them. There are said to be numerous wild hogs in the interior, and foxes ; but, happily for the island, no beasts of prey of a formidable description. The most unpleasant annoyance that is experienced in this respect, is not on land but in water, as all the rivers swarm with alligators, which are destructive to men and cattle ; and the greatest precautions must be taken, when rivers are to be crossed, to deter them from an attack, for, though fierce, it is a cowardly animal. There are monkeys, and various animals of that kind ; and I mention, with no pleasing recollection, swarms of rats, which were a great plague. They used to run over us in quantities ; but there are few things to which we do not in time get reconciled, and at last I did not care much about them. There are birds with the most beautiful plumage ; but, according to the almost invariable arrangement of nature, their note is not musical. The guinea-fowl abounds, and also partridges, which are admirably adapted to a bad shot, as

they are fully larger than those in England, and so very tame as to allow time for a steady aim. The flesh is, however, coarse. There is abundance of fine fish on the coast ; but they did not seem to be much attended to by any excepting those who lived near the sea *. I have already noticed some of the principal articles of vegetable produce. There is, according to all accounts, in the interior of the country, an inexhaustible field of botanical research ; and various kinds of timber adapted to ship-building, and other useful purposes. The French appear to have directed their attention very much to the procuring in former years ebony and other such articles, now to be had abundantly from the possessions in the western hemisphere. The cotton plant seems to grow spontaneously here, and silk is also procurable. I know not how it may be in other parts of the island ; but where we were, fruit of no kind was abundant. Indeed, almost the only cultivated fruit was the plantain, or banana, and that not plenty. The cocoa-nut tree would be to them a valuable acquisition, and I should think no soil or climate

* They are such dexterous spearsmen, that they frequently take fish by spearing, though the object may be small and distant.

could be more favourable for its growth. Iron is an abundant article, and the natives understand well the use of it. It is said that gold and silver are found in the island; but the supply is evidently scanty. When we first came, the natives had no distinct idea of the relative value of the two metals; and, if I remember, some contrived to turn that ignorance to a lucrative account. I am not sure that this ought to be stamp'd as dishonest, as all such value is, to a certain extent, idéal, and the natives happened to prize one more than another. My recollection on the point is not very accurate; but so far as it goes, it was quite matter of fashion. Before silver became plenty by the circulation of our dollars, it was purchased as more valuable than gold for ornamental purposes; but afterwards they changed sides, and gold got a good deal more than its right ascendancy.

General Character, Habits, and Mode of Life.

—As to the character of the Madagascar people, opinions have been a good deal diversified. On the one hand, they have been loaded with opprobrium as treacherous, cruel, and full of vice. On the other, they have been extolled as much beyond limits. Perhaps here, as in most

cases, a medium course is nearest the truth. That they have many of the vices and defects incidental to an uncivilized people is certain; but it is equally so, so far as our observation extended, that they possess the seeds of many excellent qualities which right culture would very soon bring to maturity.

The scale of society seemed pretty much arranged in three classes; the highest class, next to the king, and what I may call the officers of state, being those whose occupation was the profession of arms, who rank probably according to the extent of their possessions in slaves and cattle; the next, fishermen, who remain on the sea-coast, and are engaged in the management of their canoes and fishing; and the last, the slaves. The king, though held in habitual reverence, and, so far as we saw, promptly obeyed, cannot be considered wholly despotic; for in the event of any undue severity, his subjects will leave him and migrate to another state, as attachment to the natal soil, the "land of our sires," with us the fertile source of many heroic virtues, is in Madagascar too much disturbed to take any deep root. The practice which seems to exist of making all weighty questions matter of public deliberation, must have a powerful ef-

fect in upholding independence and elevation of mind. I remember being quite struck with the fluency of speech and oratory which we sometimes heard ; and I observe the Abbe Rochon, in his account of Madagascar, mentions a similar fact with regard to those on the east side, stating, that M. Poivre, a gentleman of distinguished name, who took an active part in the administration of affairs at the Isle of France, had frequently expressed his astonishment at their power of eloquence. It is the business of good soldiers to be ready for war ; and on the signal being given, those of Madagascar equip themselves for the tented field at very short notice. Their tactics differ widely from those we reckon essential for the “ *vainqueurs de la terre* ” to possess. Their system is much more that of surprize than of open attack ; and I may again refer to the History of America, as containing a very exact description of the Madagascar mode of warfare*. I have seen the bush-fighting practised as a specimen ; and the agility with which they spring from side to side, must make resistance very puzzling to any adversary not drilled in the same school. Plunder is the great

* Vol. i. p. 363.

object; and from all accounts, war is here attended with more than its ordinary share of havoc and devastation; villages and lands laid waste, inhabitants massacred or enslaved, and property swept off. This of course leads to retaliation, and that again to fresh reprisals, so that the temple of the Madagascar Janus is never shut. During our stay, we were more than once alarmed, not by wars, but by "rumours of wars." I rather think that it was our being there that kept the neighbouring states somewhat at a distance. They hold the European name in much respect; and though a name was nearly all we could oppose, it no doubt had its effect. We indeed would have been in a fearful scrape if any invasion had actually ensued; death or slavery would probably have been our portion, as resistance or flight would have been about equally impossible. The general habits of the Madagascar people are of a simple kind. Their huts are commonly built of reeds and rushes, from 13 to 15 feet in length, the fire being kindled in the middle. The furniture consists of a bed made of reeds, covered with a mat, a few calabashes, some wooden spoons, and two or three earthen pots, which they pack up and move from place to place at a moment's warn-

ing. I think I may call them, among themselves, a social and happy people. They generally end the day with supper, which is their chief meal ; and they sit down and converse round the doors of their huts. They also amuse themselves occasionally with a game which they play at, using for the purpose the nut of a tree : It seems to excite much interest and to require attention. They enjoy apparently much domestic harmony. Polygamy is allowed, but it is far from being generally practised. Their kindness to their slaves is quite remarkable ; I don't recollect seeing an instance of one of them being maltreated. Their general turn of mind appears that of lively quickness, accompanied by a thirst for knowledge. We used to be much struck with a young man, of the rank of governor, who resided some miles inland, but who occasionally visited us. He had much dignity of deportment and intelligence of mind, always striving after new attainments, and that seemed eminently fitted for a higher sphere of intellect. He did not seem partial to the king ; and though he spoke with reserve, he made it be understood, that he thought him inferior to his father *. Many of them, as

* He had lost a child about the time of one of his visits ; and I recollect his requesting some of the ladies not to notice

already observed, had a smattering of English ; and one man, whose *nom de guerre* was Tom Bush, and who commonly acted as our interpreter, spoke it with tolerable ease. There is, of course, here, little call for manufacturing skill ; but what they do in the way of weaving their cloths of cotton, or I believe, occasionally silk, is done neatly. I cannot say how far they hold themselves bound by established laws. There are certainly none written ; but from the order with which public affairs are conducted, I have no doubt that, though not adepts in the Justinian Code, they have their common law, or a certain rule of practice that guides their proceedings. They are very irascible, and when roused, not slow to seek revenge. Of this a specimen has been already afforded in Captain Dale's narrative, but the fact is singular, that I believe, with that exception, no serious misunderstanding ever occurred between them and their visitors. This appears in a high degree creditable to both ; and the more so, as the bulk of the people had

the circumstance to his wife when they met, " because woman cry." I have not at hand the account of the Sandwich Islands in Captain Cook's voyages, but there is a description given there of a young man, (if I mistake not, named Kameena,) whose character, and even appearance, struck me at the time I read it, as much resembling our Madagascar fitend,

no love for us, as they considered, perhaps rightly, the bullocks and gifts which the king bestowed on us; as so much taken from them; while, with regard to our sailors and soldiers, all authority over them had been long at an end, and they were left to do pretty much "what was right in their own eyes;" all such as were in health to move, straggling about, exposed to numerous temptations, which might have led to difficult, not to say dangerous, consequences. In the various movements that took place from Tullear to St. Augustine's Bay, and to other parts, no outrage of a personal kind, that I remember to have heard of, was ever offered or received. There were one or two besetting sins to which our Madagascar friends were certainly particularly prone; the first, was the desire of intoxication, from which few, from the highest to the lowest rank, was exempted. *Veritable* coniac would have been prized by them as much as nectar among the *bons vivans* of Olympus, and literally quaffed in flowing bowls. As it was, they were satisfied with a spirit of their own manufacture, called *toaky*, made from an infusion of sugar-cane, tamarinds, and honey. To one not used to it, the taste seemed nauseous enough to turn the stomach of an elephant, but many were the con-

vincing proofs we had of its being quite congenial to the Madagascar palate. Such indeed is the pleasure that some of most countries find in confusing the intellect, that several of our people, rather than want that luxury, became very expert toaky drinkers. The next failing in the Madagascar character, was one which, tried according to the standard of European ideas, was still lower in the moral scale, viz. a liking for spulzie *, or, in humbler terms, a thievish disposition. We must not, however, here mete our judgment with too many scruples, and keep in mind, that there have been States of renown, where thieving was applauded as a clever thing, if the young rogue could manage to keep his

* This was so strong in the Madagascar breast, that I don't believe it could have been restrained by all the authority of the worthy Baron Bradwardine, (well known to every reader of the fascinating story of Waverley.) That disposition to borrow occasionally the use of our neighbour's goods, to which our friends in the North, as well as those in Madagascar, were, though I suppose not now, prone, proceeded probably in both countries from much the same cause, a system of government which made a neighbour, when he could be conveniently got at, a good deal of lawful prey. Neither, probably, had much studied the admonitions of our immortal bard, who tells us, that "*borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry*." Nevertheless, this plain effect followed, as husbandry, in every country, shews its dislike to such a copartnership.

own secret. Scanned according to this rule, the Madagascar thief might have much to urge. Plunder is a part of their system; and being their pursuit, from their earliest to their latest years, the disposition must, in the nature of things, "grow with their growth, and strengthen with their strength." Though they take liberties, however, with their neighbours, they are among themselves, and in their own dealings, honester than we often find people in countries who ought to know and do better. With us, they certainly carried on at times a pretty successful trade of this kind; and if the opportunity quietly offered, they were not scrupulous as to the time, whether day or night. The latter was however preferred; and they used then, with the quietness of cats, to crawl in at the door of our huts, and make a snatch at whatever came within grasp. If the door happened to be stubborn, they used to cut the rushes near our beds, having no doubt previously taken the bearings, and things, to us invaluable, would, in this way, disappear in a twinkling: *Proh pudor!* even the nobles of the land used sometimes to engage in these unseemly enterprizes. At some time after we landed, the officers and passengers used to keep regular watch at night, I think each

two hours at once, which was a wearisome duty, and probably contributed to our ailments; but sickness did not allow it to go on long. Having now said all that appears material on this head, the adoption of something of a standard of comparison may be perhaps the easiest mode of fixing the scale assignable to Madagascar civilization. They are, in this respect, beyond any question, decidedly inferior to the general population of Sumatra and Java, where attainments in almost every point of mental culture have been made, much surpassing any thing known in Madagascar. On the other hand, the people of that island nearly as much surpass the Hottentots, (at least what the Hottentots were before the late great improvements effected by the missionaries,) the Bosjesmans, and other such tribes in southern Africa. They hold, perhaps, pretty nearly a middle place between those different nations. Hitherto, the European intercourse has been very much presented to the Madagascar view, in the forbidding light of piracy*, and the slave traffic, to say nothing of the many

* Madagascar, about a century ago, appears to have been the resort of pirates of all nations, who are said to have been so numerous on the east coast, as even to influence the appearance of the population.

bloody scenes that at different periods attended the French operations in that island. It is very doubtful if, in return for so many evils, one right quality has been planted in that soil by a European hand. It is surely time that an attitude of so loathsome a nature should be laid aside, and that the European character should appear under a more inviting aspect. Let us send there messengers of peace, with the olive branch in the one hand, and the means of Christian instruction in the other; and the Madagascar disposition must be much changed since I knew it, if I may not safely aver, that, with a ladder thus fixed, it will not be long before they climb high in the scale of being.

Character of the King.—The personal character of the king formed too material a feature in the circumstances connected with our residence in Madagascar, not to require a separate explanation. He seemed to be about 25 years of age; not tall, and rather slimly made, but well proportioned. His countenance did not indicate any striking ability, but much liveliness and benignity. His complexion was remarkably white, approaching a copper colour. When occasion required it, he appeared with a good deal of what might be called in their way mag-

nificence, having around him a large body of armed men and attendants ; but he did not seem fond of regal state, and generally went about with very few people ; sometimes only with a single boy *, who used to carry his pipe and smoking apparatus. The pipe was a long hollow tube, three or four feet in length, and the tobacco being kindled at one end of it, the smoke was drawn through it. The *palace* was little more than a hut on a larger scale. It differed, however, from the other huts, in having some more articles of furniture, and being surrounded by a large hedge or bamboo fence, which enclosed a pretty extensive area where the house stood. There resided the Queen, dignified with the appellation of Queen Charlotte ; any good looks she may have had were gone by ; she was corpulent, but good-tempered and kind. His majesty's affections were divided, or perhaps pretty exclusively given to a very handsome young woman, with whom there was a sort of alliance known in our Court about a century ago as a left-handed marriage, an exotic of German growth. Her mansion stood not far from our

* This boy was called Luna, a lively little fellow, whose drollery made him a great favourite.

huts, so we saw a good deal of her. She was much of a coquet, and shewed that she knew her ascendancy. The king was always approached with the most profound respect by his subjects : When they drew near him on public occasions, they covered their head with their hand, and bowed it almost to the ground. No wonder that they do so, for notwithstanding that there may be some few limitations to the regal power, I fancy the king's word is pretty decisive of life or death.

To give a more distinct idea of the proceedings of the court of Baba, I shall mention what I saw when the King gave audience to some ambassadors who had been sent from a neighbouring state, with which there had been, according to frequent occurrence, some misunderstanding. The King, accompanied by about 80 armed men, went out to a little distance from his residence, and seated himself on a sandy plain. In half an hour the ambassadors made their appearance. They had kindled their fire, according to the usual mode of the country, where tents are not known, and where houses are scarce, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, and drew near, driving four or five bullocks as a present to the King. Being seated at a few paces dis-

tance, they entered on an explanation of the business of their mission. Their observations led to several remarks from different persons belonging to the King's council ; but we were informed that all the explanations were of an amicable kind, accompanied by promises on the part of their master of future friendship. The matter being thus adjusted, they presented the King with some beads in a straw basket in token of entire amity, and then departed.

The personal kindness that we experienced from the King is what we never can acknowledge with sufficient gratitude, nor adequately express. One or two instances of this nature have been mentioned by Captain Dale as having occurred on our first arrival, and he continued during the whole of our residence in his country, to act on the same generous and humane principle without a moment's deviation. It matters not whether the object was material or otherwise, the same feeling uniformly operated. One of our sailors having behaved ill one day soon after our arrival, to one of the natives, corporal punishment was about being inflicted *, when the King came and

* Certain authority was for a time kept up in this way after we landed ; but it rarely happened that it was necessary to enforce it.

took him away, saying, that he was sure if any of his people had been wrecked in England, King George would not allow them to be punished; and that he could not therefore allow King George's people to be so. To his own great inconvenience, he remained stationary at Tullear all the time of our being there, never going to any material distance. We were not without much anxiety on this account, as there were frequent rumours of the King's intention to go to another residence. On one occasion in particular, he came and intimated that he meant to set off to a village about fifty miles distance on the following day, and desired that we would determine, whether we would go with him or go to St. Augustine's Bay, observing, that in his absence we could not remain in safety where we were. We were then in a most sickly state; and as moving, to most of us, was an impossible thing, it only remained to represent our difficulties earnestly to the king, whose benevolent heart was made fully alive to them: He said that he was indeed very anxious to go; but that on our account he would remain, which he did to the last. Captain Dale has mentioned in his narrative the liberal supplies of cattle bestowed on us by the king. At first, the number that

we received was considerably larger than afterwards, though we always had occasional gifts, from time to time bestowed. In fact, the consumption that we caused, must have probably occasioned much embarrassment, and, as we understood, discontent among those who were partly dependent on the royal bounty. Besides, the king, with a degree of liberality that fills the mind with admiration, and some degree of amazement, conferred on us the means of providing in a great degree for our wants. As the circumstances connected with this are of an interesting nature, it will be right that they should be particularly narrated.

The amount of treasure belonging to the India Company on board of the Winterton was considerable, as has been noticed. Much of this was recovered by the fishermen who went off to the wreck, and who, being expert divers, were enabled at low water to get it up, though it must have been to them a work of very great labour and difficulty. It was said to be customary, that a part of any article of value procured in this casual way should be presented to the king; and accordingly, about a fortnight after our arrival at Tulleur, a numerous body of fishermen came there,

bringing the intended present. The king, attended by some hundreds of his soldiers, went out to meet them ; and after a good deal of preliminary ceremony, particularly dancing and firing of muskets, the money was delivered. The king at once ordered a sum equal to above twenty thousand dollars to be given to the officers of the ship for distribution. The money was accordingly placed in an open plain ; but before a division could be made, the soldiers and sailors began to seize it in a scrambling way. The officers had doubts as to the appropriation of this money, and considering themselves as acting on behalf of the Company, they felt called on, under any circumstances, to make an effort to reserve it in that view : But the irregular seizure could leave no doubt as to the course to be in the first instance taken, and an application was immediately made to the king for his assistance. The king observed with much propriety, that he considered the money to be his, and not the Company's, as it had been recovered by his people after we left the wreck, and that what he gave was a free gift from himself : As, however, it was the intention that the gentlemen should have a larger share than the people, he immediately sent a party of his soldiers to resume possession ; but,

I believe, this was not effected without loss, though I cannot say exactly the amount *. On the following day, the king invited all who could come to attend, and a distribution then took place in a systematic way, a division of the whole being made into classes, and so many bags of dollars given to each class, which, to the soldiers, proved equal to about 80 dollars each, and to the sailors about 100. The gentlemen passengers did not receive more than at the rate of about 50 each; but to the ladies was given a

* It will be noticed, that this is the second instance of irregularity that occurred within a few days after we reached Tullear. Such things among sailors and soldiers, situated as ours were, are not to be justified, but they will be generally found to a certain extent inevitable. It is impossible to prevent the propensity that the lower rank of Europeans have to look on a black face with an eye of superiority, and on their first arrival among the inhabitants of a hot climate, to treat them as inferiors. This will happen under the most strict discipline; but where that discipline is relaxed, and in a great degree at an end, as the loss of the ship, the death of our commander, and the death or dispersion of most of the officers, occasioned it in our case to be, the consequence could not excite much wonder. In addition to this, there was the impression that they were only attempting to recover property to which, however erroneously, they thought themselves to have a prior claim; and many of them probably were in a destitute condition. The circumstances I have alluded to, occurred at the first outset; but after that, things got somewhat into their ordinary train, and went on with much regularity.

larger proportion ; and to Mr. Spens the second officer, and Mr. Dun the purser, who were then considered as in the chief charge, were given, I think, at the rate of 900 dollars each *. The king was particularly fond of the fife, and to two people who could play it well he gave 800 dollars each †. If it had not been for this extraordinary instance of munificence, many of us must have been reduced to a starving state, as we were destitute of all means whatever. So generous a proceeding, would have been in a high degree creditable in any civilized country ; but, to appreciate it justly, it must be considered, that money was to the king and his subjects much of a novelty, and that they attached to it a degree of value, probably surpassing that of the most avaricious miser, looking to it as one of their chief means of happiness in this life, and their hope of recompence in the next. This passion, no doubt, found in the king's mind a counterpoise in his feeling for our distress ; but

* I was ill at the time, and was not present at the distribution ; but, I think, the proportions were as I have stated them. The result certainly differed from what was first intended, probably from some accidental cause, of which I have no note and no recollection.

† One of them was corporal Mackoy, mentioned in the early part of the narrative.

the effort must have been to him trying. I have no correct idea what part he reserved for himself, but conclude that it was considerable, and I think it was kept buried in the earth. I have known the king afterwards ask a dollar out of the very money which he had given us*.——Much as there was to extol and speak gratefully of, it is an irksome thing to draw aside the veil, and to reveal an infirmity in a character so truly exalted as that of our protector; but our poor black prince was not exempted from the habits of his subjects as to inebriety. He was often seen to have proceeded on his voyage a good deal farther than “half seas over;” but he never seemed to lose recollection, and always maintained a certain dignity. Like the Macedonian monarch, he gave frequent occasion to appeal from “Philip drunk to Philip sober;” and though the idea was not, perhaps, quite clothed in the garb of classic taste, it was perfectly intelligible, when he used to say, “to-day ‘brandy speak, to-morrow king speak†.” A moment’s recollection of the circumstances of de-

* This puts one a little in mind of Dr. Johnson asking the loan of a shilling “not to be repaid.”

† The people of Madagascar have sometimes what may be called a pithy mode of expression. If any one tells what they think not true, they say he is “two tongued.”

licacy attending our situation, must make it appear a remarkable thing, that, dependent as we were, wholly on the bounty and protection of the king, accustomed, whether in full possession of his mind or otherwise, to have all around bending to his will, nothing ever occurred in regard to us incompatible with the most perfect courtesy. He often visited our huts, but always, even when in an inebriated state, behaved with kindness and politeness, and, I believe, none of the ladies ever experienced the least alarm. I was not present, but I have been informed by good authority, that, on some occasion, when one of the king's attendants had suggested some proposal which he considered injurious, he repelled it by a severe blow, and threatened to put the man to death. Captain Dale has mentioned some farther circumstances regarding this noble minded young man, which will be noticed in the sequel: but, from what has been already said, regarding him and his subjects, I am sure it will be readily allowed, that too much has not been hazarded in the anticipation expressed regarding the possible attainments of such a people*.

* I believe a handsome present was afterwards sent by the Directors of the East India Company to the King, who certainly merited in a high degree this mark of public regard.

I shall here add a little to the occasional remarks already made in the course of the preceding narrative, regarding our long and dreary residence on this Island. Till our benefactor afforded the pecuniary aid that has been mentioned, the passengers generally were in a situation a good deal inferior to that of the sailors and soldiers, many of whom had considerable sums of money; and though the royal gift happily saved many from want, still, from the proportions into which it had been divided, our relative circumstances of inferiority were not for a time improved. It was something of the children's fable of the "world reversed;" and though at the time little viewed as matter of amusement, it might have been almost ludicrous to see the soldiers, &c. and their wives, metamorphosed into ladies and gentlemen, while those who had been usually recognised in the latter capacity, were actively engaged in culinary and other menial offices. *L'enbaras des richesses*, however, naturally led to the usual effect of profusion, and poverty ere long came in the train. On the distribution of the money received from the king, the price of milk and of every article of provision was extravagantly raised; and, as the inferior classes lavished their means without foresight, a great number

were, long before the time of our being relieved from the Island, reduced to much distress ; the higher classes had then no difficulty in obtaining whatever domestic help they wanted. At first, a considerable number of the officers and passengers used to sleep in the same hut, on bed places formed of rattans, and raised a little from the ground ; but, afterwards, when we got more settled, and death had thinned our society, most of us had separate huts. Excepting the times when we were looking out for the purchase of provisions, we had scarcely any pursuit in the least to interest us, and each succeeding day was pretty much as those which had preceded. Before sickness began to make the havoc which it did, some used to perambulate a good deal the neighbouring country ; but latterly, we were all of us too ill for any effort of that kind. I have mentioned, that the plan was adopted for a time of sending deputies, if I may call them so, to St. Augustine's Bay. Never shall I forget the labour I went through in reaching that destination, when my tour of duty came. My friend Mr. T—and I, started from Tullear before daylight in the morning ; but we did not accomplish our journey before evening, having travelled through a country, which, if I had been less ill

and less fatigued, I probably would have much admired; for the scenery is in some parts very pretty.* I was then very imperfectly recovered from former illness, and on reaching St. Augustine was again attacked with a fever, which might have proved fatal if it had not been for my friend's unwearied kindness. Though we were there, in most respects, as uncomfortable as possible, being lodged in a dirty hut, with some rushes strewed on the ground for a bed, and devoured by muskitos, there was some satisfaction in the variety of a new place, and new faces, though I was little in a state to enjoy it. We remained at St. Augustine, I think, about a fortnight, by which time I was sufficiently recovered to get back. I never could then have walked the distance, but made it out, though with great difficulty, with the help of a canoe, which conveyed us along the coast a great part of the way*, and with the farther aid of a night's lodging in the hut of a native, who hos-

* I do not now recollect the difference in extent between going by land and by water, from Tullear to St. Augustine's Bay; but the latter mode must have been most circuitous; and as canoes were expensive (though, from their sharp contracted form, a painful conveyance to an invalid,) they were only resorted to in cases of extremity.

pitably allowed us to sleep on his floor.—I have no note of the exact time when the extreme sickness and mortality began among us, but am pretty sure it was some time in December. After that, all distant travelling was much at an end. To those who could move out, the chief recreation was crawling about in the cool of the morning and evening, in the vicinity of our huts, and in getting, if we could, during the heat of the day, under the shade of a large tamarind tree. The spectacle of those who could themselves barely walk, being often called to take a part in the interment of their departed companions, might be thought to have been sufficiently impressive; but I fear it too often happens, when the mind is not under somewhat of right regulation, that the frequent recurrence of death blunts its impression; at least, I must own, such was much my own feelings at that period. With many dropping almost daily around, none of us could with reason reckon on twenty-four hours of life; but the survivors seemed generally to find some new store of hope to carry them on in their heavy journey. The symptoms of the fever that proved so very fatal were various, both in its progress and termination, but a violent shivering,

followed by hot fits, (much as a severe ague,) was, I believe, most frequent, and was what I chiefly experienced in my own case *. The sufferer sometimes lingered for a considerable time, and gradually sunk ; at other times, death was preceded by a violent delirium of perhaps two or three day's continuance ; and it did happen, though rarely, that the sick person died instantaneously, without having been apparently particularly ill. Recovering from one attack of the fever was no security against its recurrence ; but it was remarked that those who were naturally most robust and healthy, when attacked, were least able long to struggle against it, a fact, I believe, of general observation in warm climates. In the midst of all this suffering, there was, as has been seen, little opportunity of exercising medical skill, from the almost total want of medicines ; but so far as the offices of friendship

* An affection of the spleen was also a prevailing malady, though not attended with the immediate danger of acute disorders. Our complaints were probably increased by the extreme bad quality of the water. We had none but what was procured from the river at some distance, which was generally so thick as to be almost a mixture of mud and water. I believe the precaution of boiling it was seldom adopted, as we were not sufficiently aware of the poison that we were taking.

and consolation could avail, they were rendered by the surgeon of the ship, Mr. L—, till he too, poor man, was called to pay the last debt. I still remember his affectionate kindness, and could almost drop a tear to his memory. He was a Scotsman, and I don't think I ever saw attachment to the *solum natale* more strongly impressed on any mind. Home was the dear object of his waking and sleeping thoughts; and I heard him once mention that few nights ever passed without his dreaming of his own country. To use the words of the delightful Cowper :

“ When I think of my own native land,

“ In a moment I seem to be there ;

“ But, alas ! recollection at hand,

“ Soon hurries me back to despair.”

Mr. L— died I think about Christmas, having sunk gradually ; and Mr. Spens, the 2d officer, expired in, I believe, the same hut, not many days after.

I omitted to mention sooner, that before sickness had thus overpowered us, an occasional hope of deliverance, though of short continuance, had been more than once, from casual circumstances, raised to a high pitch. The noise

of the spouting of whales which abound off the Madagascar coast, had where we were a very strange effect, having all the appearance of the regular salute of a ship. The first time we heard it, the arrival of a ship to our relief was considered almost certain, and many a long, though vain look was cast for the messenger destined to carry the joyous tidings. It might have been thought that one disappointment, at least, would have guarded us from a renewal of the same feeling; but the resemblance used to be very strong, and generally sufficed to give new ground for some fancied expectation; for, in such a situation as ours, the reasoning faculties are not a match for those of the imagination. We were one day, about two months after landing, buoyed up for a little time with very sanguine hopes, on a suggestion being made by the king, that we might perhaps be able to reach Fort Dauphin, the former French settlement, on the south-east side of the Island, nearly straight across the country. Our worthy king had been under the impression, that the most inveterate hostility subsisted between the English and French, to the extent of destroying each other whenever they met; but, having learned that things were not quite so bad, he suggested the measure I have

mentioned. None of us knew the least of the distance, or of the country to be traversed : It had been a European Settlement, and that was enough ; mountains, forests, rivers, all obstacles were at once removed, and Fort Dauphin seemed already open to our view. Our associate, corporal Mackoy, struck up, the evening the thing was talked off, with more than usual glee on his fife, the favourite tune of " O'er the hills and far " awa." The plan was, to depute some whose strength might appear most equal to the undertaking, under the protection of a party of the king's armed men ; but the king would not give any positive opinion till he had referred the matter to his council. That being done, it was not long before the whole scheme was happily knocked on the head ; I say happily, for though at the time the disappointment was heavy, from what we have since learned, the object never could have been accomplished. Any of our party who had attempted it, must probably have died of fatigue, and exposure to the weather ; or, if they had escaped those dangers, would have had a good chance of being captured and enslaved by some of the many hostile tribes that occupy the intermediate country. If, contrary to all probability, those various difficulties had

been surmounted, and they had lived to reach Fort Dauphin, I rather believe they would not have found, on arriving there, a single European inhabitant. Fort Dauphin had, as has been seen, possessed a widely known name in the Southern part of Madagascar; but was then *nomini umbra*, though the change, in its full extent, was, I suppose, not quite understood at Tullear. Be that as it may, the Wittenagemot, (so to apply the appellation,) pronounced the enterprise as too hazardous, and it was at once negatived.

In the way I have attempted generally to describe, did near seven long months roll over our heads. Any occasional glimpses of hope that had for a moment shone, had, meteor-like, quickly disappeared, and made the darkness rather more gloomy. When the boat sailed, a month or six weeks was about the time computed for her return; and now, that this period had so long gone by, the expectation of our again seeing those who had embarked; was at an end. No situation could well be more cheerless than ours was; still, I do not think there was any despondence, and we continued to cling to the distant view of the casual arrival of some friendly vessel; at the same time, exhausted, as we

were by repeated attacks of severe illness, it is not likely that nature would have much longer held out, and if relief had not come soon, in all probability few would have lived to tell the tale. In the midst of our many distresses and trials, God was pleased still to look on us with an eye of mercy, and to send us help from a quarter where we could then least reckon on it. I shall never forget the day ; it was on Sunday the 24th March, 1793, in the forenoon. Our attention was suddenly roused by a tumultuous noise among the natives, who kept firing their muskets, singing, and giving utterance to all the extravagant expressions of joy. For some time we were uninformed as to the cause, and little did we imagine that it was to us that those things were the heralds of interesting tidings, and that those effusions of gladness were anticipations of the delight known to be in store for us. I think it was our trusty friend and interpreter, Tom Bush, who first came to my hut and intimated to me the joyous intelligence, which he did in a circuitous, playful way such as, that " I would soon " hear something that would make too much " glad," &c. *. This something was no less than

* It will be seen from Mr. Dale's narrative, that he was engaged in conversation with the King, which probably occa-

the unlooked-for arrival of our friend Mr. Dale, who was thus made the destined instrument in the hand of Providence of effecting our most wonderful deliverance, at a period when the hope of such deliverance must in every reasonable view, have appeared nearly terminated.

sioned some delay in the diffusion of the tidings. Those who happened to be moving about at the time, must have known the event sooner.

PART THIRD.



Proceedings of Mr. Dale, and of those who crossed the Mosambique Channel in the yawl; his return to Madagascar; our departure from that Island, and arrival at Mosambique. To this is subjoined some short remarks on Missionary Establishments.

IT is now time to enter on Mr. Dale's interesting narrative of the difficulties and perils he went through in effecting our relief, commencing from the day the boat sailed from Tullear in September 1792.

MR. DALE'S NARRATIVE.

“ Our sensations the first night after being
 “ launched into the open ocean, in so small a
 “ boat, may be somewhat imagined; yet I ne-
 “ ver saw men in better spirits. We appeared to

“ be sensible of the importance of the thing on
 “ hand, and that on our exertions depended the
 “ fate of those we had left behind us. The
 “ consciousness of this, and having at length
 “ surmounted all obstacles that lay in the way of
 “ what had so long been the wish of my heart,
 “ inspired me with fresh life, and I felt strong
 “ assurance of success. For two days we made
 “ tolerable progress to the Northward, having
 “ a pleasant westerly wind ; but then it shifted
 “ again to N.N.E. and never returned again
 “ fair. The fowls, and what we brought dressed
 “ with us, lasted the first two days ; but we were
 “ sadly mortified on opening the first pot of beef
 “ to find it rotten, and scarcely a morsel of it fit
 “ to touch. Our bread was in the same state,
 “ and it was amusing to see the looks we cast
 “ at each other on this discovery. One poor
 “ man, who is since dead, used to afford us much
 “ entertainment. After we had all left off
 “ touching the victuals, he would grope among
 “ the pots, and sometimes would get a bit that
 “ he thought eatable, and, after chewing it for
 “ some time, threw it away, with many wry
 “ faces. Our whole subsistence now were some
 “ raw sweet potatoes, with a little sugar cane, and

“ half a pint of water each per day ; for though
 “ we had about 25 gallons when we sailed, a
 “ great part of the water had been kept in ca-
 “ labashes, many of which were broke by the
 “ motion of the boat. Thus situated, on the 20th
 “ of September we made the coast of Africa,
 “ in about the latitude of ~~81~~⁸²° south, the currents
 “ having set us considerably farther to the west-
 “ ward than we imagined. For three days we
 “ endeavoured to get to the northward, but
 “ could gain nothing, the wind keeping con-
 “ stantly N.E. ; and by that time having but
 “ a very slender stock of water remaining, it
 “ was judged imprudent to persist any longer in
 “ the désign of reaching Mosambique, then 500
 “ miles distant. Accordingly, on the 23d, we
 “ bore away for a Portuguese settlement named
 “ Sofala, in 20° 30' south latitude, and to which
 “ a small geographical Grammar directed us.
 “ It was unfortunate for us all, that, in the
 “ only book of charts saved from the wreck,
 “ it should be deficient in but one chart, and
 “ *that* the one wanted, viz. of the Mosambique
 “ channel : as at the time we relinquished the
 “ intention of going to Mosambique we were
 “ not more than 20 miles from a sea port belong-

“ ing to the Portuguese called Killeman, from
 “ whence vessels are at all times trading to the
 “ capital. Had we known this, it would have
 “ been the means of procuring immediate relief
 “ for our distressed shipmates, and thereby have
 “ prevented the loss of so many lives occasioned
 “ by their long stay on Madagascar. It was on
 “ the morning we made the land that I felt my-
 “ self unwell ; and as we were pretty near to it,
 “ we were obliged to row the boat farther out
 “ to get an offing before the sea breeze set in.
 “ The fatigue of this made me worse, and in
 “ three days I got so bad that I lay in the bot-
 “ tom of the boat without power to rise. It was
 “ at this time that we made for Sofala, to which,
 “ as I have mentioned, our little book directed
 “ us ; and fortunate indeed it was we had it,
 “ otherwise we might have beat about till we
 “ starved. It was with much intreaty I procured
 “ it from one of the soldiers before we sailed, after
 “ promising to pay the value of it. While we were
 “ deliberating about proceeding to Sofala, I re-
 “ quested Mr. Wilton and the rest of my asso-
 “ ciates to consider whether it might not be
 “ more expedient to take this course, while we
 “ had some provisions left, and which, as the
 “ wind was, we might effect in two days ; where-

“ as, should the wind, even contrary to all hope,
 “ shift, we could not reach Mosambique under
 “ five or six days; and our water, even at the
 “ short allowance we were at, would barely
 “ serve so long. But at the same time, if they
 “ judged otherwise, I told them by all means to
 “ persevere, and not regard my illness, as, should
 “ I die, still Mr. Wilton could conduct the ex-
 “ pedition: my proposal was, however, agreed
 “ to. The wind, after our bearing up, fresh-
 “ ened extremely, and caused a high-following
 “ sea, so that we were obliged to keep right be-
 “ fore it. It was really frightful to see our poor
 “ little boat sometimes down in the hollow of
 “ the sea, and then again mounted aloft on the
 “ top of a wave. We owed our safety to the
 “ dexterity of one of the seamen; who had been
 “ brought up as a fisherman, on the north coast
 “ of England; by his excellent steerage no ac-
 “ cident happened. The afternoon of the 25th,
 “ we entered the mouth of a river, and as it got
 “ dark, we saw very large fires, seemingly at no
 “ great distance, and kept running for them till
 “ about midnight, when our boat grounded,
 “ and soon after was left dry.

“ Our situation was none of the pleasantest;
 “ we could not see the least whether we were

“ on the shore, or on a shoal in the river, and
 “ dared not venture away from the boat. We
 “ got our musquets ready, and the spears that
 “ we brought from Madagascar, and anxiously
 “ waited for day. Before dawn we were glad
 “ to find the water flow, and soon after we got
 “ off; and were preparing to return, as we saw
 “ no signs of a town; when we heard voices
 “ singing, and presently saw two or three canoes.
 “ The people in them had a very pleasant way
 “ of repeating some words, in a sort of cadence
 “ which has an agreeable effect. The canoes were
 “ very different, and larger than those of Mada-
 “ gascar, having no outriggers as the latter have.
 “ Seeing they made towards us, our people pre-
 “ pared to receive them as foes, not knowing
 “ what might be their intention; however they
 “ came on singing, and shewed they were friend-
 “ ly to us by holding up some plantains in the
 “ front of their canoes. When they joined us,
 “ they saw me lying in the bottom of the boat
 “ helpless. I had been then five days without
 “ eating any thing, and was beginning to grow
 “ delirious; nothing but the water kept me
 “ alive, and my companions kindly stinted
 “ themselves to give me the more. They gave
 “ us water, and some cocoa-nuts, which was all

“ they had, but made signs to us (none of them
 “ spoke Portuguese) to follow them, and soon
 “ after we got into a creek on the north side
 “ of the river, where we landed. I was car-
 “ ried out and set with my back against a tree.
 “ There were no huts here, but one of the na-
 “ tives soon brought water, and two or three
 “ small fowls. This man could speak a little
 “ Portuguese, and from him we learned that So-
 “ fala lay about 20 miles to the southward, and
 “ that as he knew the navigation to it, if we
 “ would wait till the next day, he would pilot us
 “ there. We dressed our supply here, and I
 “ got a little broth, which brought me too very
 “ soon. The musquitoes were very troublesome,
 “ so that we were obliged to kindle large fires to
 “ keep them off. We had a violent squall of wind
 “ and rain, the first we had experienced since we
 “ were wrecked, which distressed us a great deal.
 “ With much anxiety we expected the return
 “ of our promised guide, and the next morning,
 “ the 27th, as the wind was fair, and he had not
 “ joined us, we left the place, and in the after-
 “ noon came abreast of another river ; and see-
 “ ing some huts and smoke a little way up, made
 “ for it. There were about twenty people here,
 “ who were very friendly, and we could con-

“ verse together. We were informed that So-
 “ fala was not far distant, but the way to it was
 “ dangerous, on account of shoals. One of the
 “ inhabitants, seeing we had paper and pencil,
 “ advised writing to the governor, and under-
 “ took to be the bearer, promising to return
 “ the next day ; and as a signal when he came
 “ back, he told us when we heard the report
 “ of a musquet on the opposite side of the river
 “ to send our boat for him. Mr. De Souza im-
 “ mediately wrote a few words to the governor,
 “ explaining our situation ; and our friend hav-
 “ ing provided us a hut to sleep in, and some-
 “ thing to eat, left us. The next day, as we
 “ were eagerly looking out for the signal, we
 “ were amused with the appearance of several
 “ sea-horses near to us. All this coast abounds
 “ with them ; they are killed for their ivory,
 “ which is said almost to be equal to that of the
 “ elephant. One of these came quite to the wa-
 “ ter’s edge, and as we had no further use for
 “ our ammunition, we expended it by firing at
 “ him. The distance I am sure was not above
 “ thirty yards, and though we fired more than a
 “ dozen rounds, it had not the least effect ; one
 “ ball rebounded back from his head, and struck
 “ one of our men forcibly on the leg. Some of

“ the natives stood by laughing, as they knew
 “ we could not hurt the animal. They kill the
 “ sea-horse with spears, but rarely; for they
 “ are a very dangerous animal, and often up-
 “ set the canoes in the river. They make a
 “ noise, when they come to the surface of the
 “ water to breathe, like a whale. Of this last,
 “ we saw prodigious numbers in coming across
 “ the channel. It was the time of engendering
 “ with them; and they were perfectly wild,
 “ jumping straight up out of the water, and
 “ often so near as to alarm us. In the after-
 “ noon we heard the wished-for signal, and
 “ sent the boat, which brought over a pilot, and
 “ a soldier with a letter from the governor, and
 “ a basket of provisions, some wine, spirits, and,
 “ what really was a treat, some excellent soft
 “ bread. The letter was very friendly, and ex-
 “ pressed every wish to serve us. Early on the
 “ 29th September we proceeded. It would have
 “ made any one laugh to see us brushing up,
 “ tattered and torn as we were, to look as smart
 “ as we could before the governor. We landed
 “ about one o’clock at Sofala, and were con-
 “ ducted to him. He received us in the kindest
 “ manner, appropriated a house for us, and sup-
 “ plied us with clean clothes, which were most

“ gratifying to us, having worn our shirts six or
 “ seven weeks, and become almost eat up with
 “ vermin. By the means of Mr. de Souza, we
 .“ made the governor fully acquainted with the
 “ unhappy disaster that had befallen us, and, at
 “ the same time, requested his advice and as-
 “ sistance in what manner it would be proper
 “ for us to act. Our reception was seemingly
 “ perfectly humane and kind. He desired us not
 “ to think of any thing but recruiting ourselves,
 “ which, he observed, our situation so much re-
 “ quired, but still there was a shyness in his beha-
 “ viour which we could not account for. I am
 “ inclined to think, and we all were of the same
 “ opinion, that he doubted our veracity, and
 “ took us for part of the crew of some French
 “ ship come to kidnap the natives; a practice,
 “ as I have been informed, not uncommon. In
 “ a little time, however, these suspicions va-
 “ nished, and then he informed us of the state
 “ of the place: That there was annually but
 “ one vessel came there; that she had sailed
 “ about a month before, and would not arrive
 “ again before June; that as the north-east
 “ monsoon was set in, it would be impracticable
 “ to reach Mosambique at that time; but that

“ if we chose, he would furnish us with guides,
 “ and whatever was necessary to undertake a
 “ journey to Senna, a Portuguese settlement in-
 “ land, from whence we might have an oppor-
 “ tunity of getting to the capital, though at the
 “ same time he represented the undertaking in
 “ so unfavourable a light, together with the
 “ length of time likely to intervene, before any
 “ occasion might offer to proceed farther, that,
 “ on mature deliberation, we declined all thoughts
 “ of it, and turned our attention to a boat be-
 “ longing to the settlement, about the size of
 “ an Indiaman’s long boat, which we made ap-
 “ plication for. The governor’s way of life was
 “ no way enviable. Excluded in a manner from
 “ society, he appears shut up in solitary pomp,
 “ with nothing to employ his mind but the
 “ thoughts of accumulating wealth, seemingly
 “ his principal aim. A day or two after our ar-
 “ rival, as we were conversing before dinner,
 “ the discourse turned upon England; and
 “ the governor, observing Mr. Wilton’s watch-
 “ chain and seals, took occasion to praise the
 “ superior manner in which these things were
 “ executed in our country, and examined them
 “ attentively. The seals had arms and cyphers
 “ on them, that would have been useless to him,

“ and the watch was entirely spoiled with salt
 “ water ; but he asked if any of us had a watch
 “ that would go. I had one that the purser had
 “ lent me for the expedition, and did not think
 “ myself quite at liberty to part with it ; but
 “ while he was looking at it, we thought it
 “ would not be unseasonable to make him a pre-
 “ sent of it with a good grace, as we were then
 “ in treaty with him for the boat I have men-
 “ tioned. He affected reluctance to accept it,
 “ but was inwardly very happy ; and in this
 “ manner possessed himself of whatever was of
 “ any worth among us. I mention this circum-
 “ stance, because, as we afterwards experienced
 “ unkind treatment at his hands, it will shew
 “ that whatever favours we received from him,
 “ were balanced by the value of what he got
 “ from us. My health being soon re-established,
 “ I became impatient to be doing something for
 “ the relief of our distressed companions ; and,
 “ as before mentioned, solicited the governor to
 “ let us have his boat. He made many objec-
 “ tions ; as that it was government property,
 “ and that he could not be answerable for part-
 “ ing with it. Then he said, that the value was
 “ so much that we could not make it good. He
 “ only asked nearly L.100 Sterling, though

“ no one would have bought it for any other pur-
 “ pose than fire-wood ; and when we proposed
 “ drawing a bill upon the Company for pay-
 “ ment, he objected, as fearful it would not be
 “ accepted. He did not appear to be acquaint-
 “ with the nature of the Company’s interests in
 “ India, till Mr. de Souza explained to him
 “ their great possessions and power there, and
 “ the probability that when the Company should
 “ come to know the assistance and protection
 “ he had afforded us, they would remit him a
 “ handsome present. We had desired De Sou-
 “ za to say this, to try what effect it might have,
 “ and found it answered our wishes ; for he now
 “ was quite the other way, affecting indifference
 “ about payment, and telling us he considered
 “ it as his duty to assist to the utmost of his abi-
 “ lity the subjects of that nation who was in al-
 “ liance with his ; and that if, in so doing, any
 “ expence was incurred, he would rely on the
 “ generosity of the East India Company for re-
 “ imbursement. Having nothing now to im-
 “ pede us, and the governor entering heartily
 “ into the business, we went on speedily in
 “ equipping our vessel. I have already said, that
 “ it was about the size of an Indiaman’s long
 “ boat, but very different in the construction,

“ which more resembled that of a Masulah boat
 “ at Madras. She had no deck, nor were there
 “ any materials or carpenters in the place to lay
 “ one. We had only to remedy this, by cover-
 “ ing her with bamboos and mats as well as we
 “ could. This merely served to enable us to go
 “ fore and aft; for it would not keep out water.
 “ We were told she had been caulked a little
 “ before we arrived. We could see that she
 “ was fresh paid, and that was all; for when we
 “ got to sea, and she had any motion, the pitch
 “ all worked out of the seams, and, as there was
 “ no oakum, we could see day-light through the
 “ bottom. The appearance of the boat induced
 “ us to think, that she would sail best if schooner
 “ rigged, and we had the sails to alter. They
 “ were made of dungaree, (or coarse cotton
 “ cloth made in India,) and had been so long
 “ laid by that they had become nearly rotten.
 “ Not a bit of spare rope could we get; and, in
 “ the article of rigging, it was a miserable fitting
 “ out, nearly as bad as oh Madagascar. We
 “ were much better off with respect to provi-
 “ sions. We had as much of them as would last
 “ six weeks salted; and besides carried with us
 “ live stock sufficient for a fortnight. The go-
 “ vernor also spared us a small quantity of spi-

“ rits and a few bottles of wine ; and after ex-
 “ pressing his good wishes for our safety and
 “ success, attended us to the water side, where
 “ we embarked on board the *Happy Delivery*,
 “ so we had named our vessel. He had given a
 “ letter to De Souza for the Governor of Cape
 “ Corientes, (the farthest southern settlement
 “ belonging to the Portuguese on this coast,)
 “ in case we should touch there ; but ad-
 “ vised us to keep out at sea ; as the currents
 “ along the shore were very dangerous. He
 “ had been there himself, if I recollect right.
 “ One of the seamen, a native of Portugal, in
 “ consequence of some proposals made him by
 “ the governor, chose to remain at Sofala, so
 “ that our party consisted only of six. We sail-
 “ ed on the 12th of October ; but ill luck still
 “ hung over us. It was our intention to proceed
 “ to Delàgoa Bay, which, with moderate winds,
 “ we might have accomplished in a week. At this
 “ time of the year we knew there would probably
 “ be some South Sea whalers there, as there ge-
 “ nerally are in that quarter a good many every
 “ season. Had we been so fortunate as to effect
 “ this, it would have been an easy matter to
 “ have engaged one, or, if necessary, two of

“ them, to transport our people from Madagas;
 “ car to the Cape of Good Hope : for which
 “ place it was my instructions to procure a
 “ vessel, had I reached Mosambique. In case
 “ we should not succeed in our first pro-
 “ ject, we had determined to make for the
 “ Cape, and most probably some ship would
 “ have picked us up before we reached it.
 “ The first day that we were out, we found
 “ the boat leaked a good deal, but thinking that
 “ might be owing to her not having been in the
 “ water for some time, concluded it would be
 “ nothing, when the timbers began to swell. The
 “ next day, however, the leaks increased ; and
 “ the wind being a little fresh, she strained so,
 “ that the little oakum in the seams worked to-
 “ tally out, and the water ran in by streams, so
 “ as to keep two people constantly bailing—but
 “ we expected, if the wind should shift so
 “ that we could go large, the leaks would not
 “ be so great, and that we might soon reach
 “ our port. Towards the conclusion of this day,
 “ however, the water gained so much upon us,
 “ and the fatigue of bailing became so great,
 “ that we agreed unanimously to put back to
 “ Sofala, which we would have reached the
 “ next day had the wind continued to blow as

“ it had done since we had been out. But
 “ scarcely had we determined, as above men-
 “ tioned, when it shifted directly in our teeth.
 “ It would have been madness now to have pur-
 “ sued our first intention, for, perhaps, before
 “ we could have run half the distance, we might
 “ be stopped again, and not be able to reach
 “ any place: or, what was probable, founder at
 “ sea. That night (the first after we had de-
 “ cided to return) we had a most fortunate
 “ escape—We were keeping close to the wind
 “ so as to lay off shore, which at sun-set was at
 “ three or four leagues distance; when, a little
 “ after dark, we found ourselves suddenly in
 “ the midst of very high breakers. A mo-
 “ ment’s thought determined us, how to act:
 “ we were very sensible our precious boat would
 “ not stay, that was above her ability; it was
 “ impossible to wear, that would have required
 “ the distance of a mile at least; there was no-
 “ thing to be done but to let go the anchor, and
 “ try to club-haul her. By the greatest mercy
 “ in the world it answered; the more surprising
 “ as we were obliged to weigh the anchor, it
 “ being the only one we had. I was twice
 “ knocked over-board by the violence of the
 “ sea, driving the tiller from side to side: how-

“ ever we got off, and this was the only time
 “ we could praise the boat. Finding the wind
 “ was set in against us, and from the warning
 “ we had received of the danger of being near
 “ the shore in the night, our only method was
 “ to seek a place of safety in some of the nume-
 “ rous rivers with which the coast is indented,
 “ before dark ; and so by coming out in the
 “ morning with the land wind, creep along by
 “ degrees. There is hardly any shore, perhaps,
 “ that has so many openings ; hardly the dis-
 “ tance of a league, but you enter a spacious
 “ river, and these connecting by different
 “ branches form numberless islands, but very
 “ low and swampy, only frequented by the sea-
 “ horse and a few monkeys. One day, as we
 “ lay at anchor, detained by the tide, a canoe,
 “ with two or three men, joined us, and as we
 “ wanted some fowls, &c. we thought it a good
 “ time to procure them. The men pointed up
 “ a branch of the river where we lay, and de-
 “ scribed the distance as trifling, and requested
 “ that some one would go with them. As we
 “ were not now under any personal apprehen-
 “ sion from them, Mr. De Souza, and one of the
 “ seamen, got into the canoe, and away they
 “ went. This was early in the day, and by the

“ evening seeing nothing of them, we began to
 “ be uneasy; and all the night was passed in
 “ anxiety for their fate. They did not return
 “ till the next morning. The natives had treat-
 “ ed them very kindly, but as they could not
 “ get what they went for till late, they could
 “ not rejoin us sooner. A day or two after we
 “ had to lament, as we thought, the loss of one
 “ of our party. It was in one of the rivers I
 “ have been speaking of, where we lay close
 “ to the shore, that we heard the beat of a tom
 “ tom (a kind of drum) seemingly very near.
 “ This man was curious to see from whence it
 “ came, and against the persuasions of us all,
 “ though it was almost dark, would quit the
 “ boat in search of it; the noise gradually grew
 “ fainter, and he, not considering how far he
 “ was going from us, followed it till dark, and
 “ then was unable to find his way back. Our
 “ anxiety was considerable, as may be conceived,
 “ and we made a noise frequently in the night,
 “ shouting as loud as possible to make him hear;
 “ but the farther he strayed, the more he got
 “ bewildered, and after waiting for him two
 “ days, we concluded some accident had hap-
 “ pened, and left the place. A night or two
 “ after, being the 26th of October, as we lay

“ a-ground in one of the rivers, we experienced
 “ a dreadful tornado. I never in my life wit-
 “ nessed any thing so awful : the elements to-
 “ gether seemed conspired to destroy us. The
 “ air was perfectly on fire, while the loud thun-
 “ der struck terror, and the rain fell in torrents.
 “ It was lucky for us we were not at sea, for
 “ we certainly must have been lost ; and to add
 “ to the distress the weather occasioned us, we
 “ were apprehensive of a visit from some of the
 “ prowling beasts of prey in the woods, as it
 “ was impossible to keep in our fire from the vi-
 “ olence of the rain.

“ All round the boat in the morning, the sand
 “ was imprinted with the marks of the feet of
 “ different beasts. We had on the preceding
 “ day, by following up the branch of a river
 “ which we thought must conduct near to So-
 “ fala, endeavoured to avoid going out to sea
 “ again, for the boat was now become so ex-
 “ tremely crazy, that it was very dangerous ;
 “ and what with the loss of one of our party,
 “ and the sickness of Mr. Wilton and De Souza,
 “ the fatigue of working and bailing was too
 “ great for three people. We proceeded up it
 “ for about three miles, often flattered by its
 “ widening, that we should succeed, but at

“ length we were much mortified when it got
 “ so narrow, that the branches of the trees hung
 “ over our heads, on which numbers of beautiful
 “ green monkeys (like those of St. Jago) were
 “ skipping from bough to bough. Numerous
 “ tracks of sea horses were visible, and they fre-
 “ quently came up to breathe close to us. There
 “ certainly is a resemblance in the head of these
 “ animals to the horse ; but their mouth is real-
 “ ly horrid when opened to its full extent. Find-
 “ ing we had traced this branch to the head, we
 “ were obliged to return, and consider further
 “ what to do. The evening previous to the
 “ hurricane, I had, in company with De Souza
 “ and one of the seamen, (the tide being out,)
 “ walked along the beach towards Sofala for
 “ about four miles, in order to make what ob-
 “ servations we could with regard to the shore,
 “ and see what shoals or dangers lay before us :
 “ We had just concluded that it was possible
 “ to work the boat up, and were preparing to
 “ return before dark, when we were suddenly
 “ joined by a few of the natives, from whom we
 “ learned that Adams, the man whom we had
 “ lost, had been found in the woods by some
 “ people, who had conducted him to Sofala.
 “ They also said the governor was preparing to

“ send us assistance; and with this agreeable,
 “ news we hastened to join our companions.
 “ About half way we came to the tracks of
 “ some elephants that seemed to have just left the
 “ place. Happening to have a piece of string,
 “ we measured the circumference of one of the
 “ largest prints of feet, and found it to exceed
 “ four feet. This quickened our steps, but De
 “ Souza, who was unwell, lagged far behind,
 “ nor could we possibly get him to mend his
 “ speed. At length we thought of trying what
 “ effect a little alarm might have, and in much
 “ seeming fright, on looking back, called to him
 “ that there were some elephants coming out
 “ of the wood. He never stopt to satisfy him-
 “ self if it was so, but set off, and presently
 “ passed us, who were dying with laughter
 “ to see the figure he cut, in an old ragged
 “ dressing gown, that he had brought from
 “ Madagascar. A little after sun-set, we got
 “ back. As it was better not to fatigue our-
 “ selves uselessly, I proposed going with ano-
 “ ther to Sofala, (that is, to the shore opposite
 “ to it) and wait for a conveyance over, to has-
 “ ten the governor’s assistance; this was agreed
 “ to, and the morning after the storm, we left Mr.
 “ Wilton and one man to take care of the boat.

“ They had nothing to apprehend, having plen-
 “ ty of provisions, and not in the least danger.
 “ About noon, on the 27th, we got in sight of
 “ Sofala, and as there was no canoe to cross the
 “ river, we set up a pole, with a handkerchief
 “ on it, hoping they would perceive it, and send
 “ for us. All that day we waited, and no no-
 “ tice was taken of our signal. As we had ex-
 “ pected an immediate conveyance, we only
 “ brought a little bread with us, which was soon
 “ expended. A few of the natives were wait-
 “ ing here for the same purpose, and we got one
 “ of their temporary huts to sleep in. The next
 “ morning we lengthened our signal, and even
 “ stript ourselves and walked about on the sand,
 “ thinking they might perceive the difference
 “ of our colour, and by that know who we were;
 “ but it had no effect. A small fishing canoe
 “ appeared during the day, from whom we got
 “ a small skate, but the owner would not come
 “ near enough for us to get in. We had now
 “ been two days without water, and our thirst
 “ was increased by the fish, so that we suffered
 “ much; and it was the more tantalizing, being
 “ so near plenty. The natives who were with
 “ us, had some water, but would not spare us
 “ any, so we determined the next morning to

“ return to the boat. In the night, however,
 “ we were agreeably surprised at the report of
 “ a musket; this was the party the governor
 “ had sent to our help. They gave us some re-
 “ freshment, and proceeded by our instructions
 “ to the boat. We crossed over to Sofala in
 “ the morning, and in the course of the day,
 “ October 29th, our vessel arrived, and we all
 “ joined again. The poor fellow that had se-
 “ parated from us, was really an object of
 “ pity. He said he had followed the noise
 “ till he was weary, without getting sight of
 “ the people; and when he thought to re-
 “ turn, had lost his way; that after wandering
 “ about a long time, he lay down quite over-
 “ come, and in the greatest distress for susten-
 “ ance. He was obliged to lick the dew off the
 “ grass; and, at length, after being bit almost to
 “ death by musquitoes, and torn to pieces in
 “ forcing his way through the woods, was found
 “ by some people who took care of him, and he
 “ got to Sofala two days before us. Our
 “ reception now was widely different from that
 “ on our first arrival. Indeed, we were sur-
 “ prised at it, as no cause appeared for such
 “ treatment. The governor scarcely deigning
 “ to speak to us, sent for me and my brother of-

“ ficer, and, without ever inquiring into the rea-
 “ son of our putting back, or what difficulties
 “ we had met with, gave us to understand, that
 “ he was preparing to dispatch some letters to
 “ Killeman, and that we must get ready imme-
 “ diately to accompany the person who carried
 “ them. It was in vain that we represented our
 “ debilitated and sickly state, from the various
 “ and unremitting fatigues we had lately under-
 “ gone; it was quite in vain we urged the ne-
 “ cessity of a little rest to refresh ourselves for
 “ a journey of such extent; he continued inex-
 “ orable. We were totally at a loss to account
 “ for a conduct so repugnant to the principles of
 “ humanity; and as it is opposite to the treat-
 “ ment we experienced in other Portuguese set-
 “ tlements, nothing would have determined me
 “ to mention it, but a due regard to truth
 “ and impartiality, which I hope will be found
 “ to characterise this Narrative. The know-
 “ ledge I afterwards obtained of his character
 “ lessened my surprise excited at his inhospitable
 “ behaviour, as it appeared that such acts
 “ were congenial to his nature. We found
 “ the governor preparing for his annual trip
 “ to the islands of Bazarute, which lie about 20
 “ leagues to the southward of Sofala, and pro-

"duce very fine pearls. He said that he had
 "deferred going a few days, hearing that we
 "were putting back. This, I believe, was false;
 "and have no doubt that the help he sent to us,
 "was more from a fear of losing the boat, than
 "any other motive. When we were first here,
 "we lived at his table, but now we should have
 "been badly off, but for the friendship of one of
 "the inhabitants, whom De Souza had formerly
 "known at Lisbon, and who received us into his
 "house. * Before we waited on the governor, as
 "just now mentioned, De Souza had an in-
 "terview with him : and as we had previous-
 "ly learned his determination respecting us,
 "we instructed him to apply for what he
 "thought would be necessary for our intended
 "journey, particularly palanquins : These here
 "are not like the elegant conveyances of the
 "same name, used in India, but only a ham-
 "mock suspended on a pole, and carried by
 "four, sometimes but two men. De Souza said
 "the Governor affected to be very much ir-
 "ritated against us, and had refused us pa-
 "lanquins, unless he would be responsible for
 "the expence attending such conveyance. De
 "Souza told him he had no objection to be
 "so for me and Wilton ; but that he thought it

“ extravagant to suppose that he (De Souza)
 “ should become personal surety for the seamen,
 “ when it was so unlikely that they could repay it.
 “ He then proposed to the Governor to take a
 “ bill upon the India Company, as we offered
 “ in the case of the boat. This was too tedious
 “ a process for him, and he knew very well that,
 “ from De Souza’s connections in every part of
 “ India, he would find no difficulty in obtaining
 “ credit to any amount, when he got to Mosam-
 “ bique. The insatiable avarice of the Gover-
 “ nor was the cause of all this trouble; for as
 “ all expences attending our journey must be
 “ paid in cloth, (which is the custom of the
 “ country,) the Governor having quantities of
 “ this, was desirous to make us take as much as he
 “ could. For this De Souza was required to give
 “ him a bill according to the local value of the
 “ article, (which was 200 or 300 per cent. above
 “ the original cost,) and likewise to pay a cer-
 “ tain interest, till repayment, as if he had
 “ been receiving money instead of goods. De
 “ Souza saw through his meanness, and asked
 “ him, with a sneer, if he thought him a fool,
 “ or so little conversant in business, as to com-
 “ ply with such terms. This enraged the Go-
 “ vernor, and they parted with very high words.

" Having a few dollars amongst us, by the
 " assistance of our friend, we procured such
 " cloths as were fit for the purpose ; these were
 " chiefly coarse blue and white dungaree, and
 " a few piece-cloths ; also a number of strings
 " of small white beads, and some rings of block
 " tin, of different sizes. These were comprized
 " in a small bale handy for carriage, and we
 " disposed of all unnecessary baggage, just keep-
 " ing a spare shirt, that, let the worst come,
 " every one could carry their own, without de-
 " taining us. The next day the Governor sent
 " for me and Wilton, the Portuguese sailor we
 " had left behind, being interpreter, (for he
 " would not see De Souza again,) and we had the
 " conversation I have before related. When he
 " offered palanquins for us two, we asked him
 " what he thought was to become of those that
 " walked, or did he think that, after sharing in so
 " many hardships together, we would thus mean-
 " ly desert them. He then said, if we had ex-
 " pected conveyance for us all, why had we not
 " applied personally for it ? This was a mere sub-
 " terfuge. I made answer by the interpreter, that
 " he knew very well our inability to converse
 " with him ; that we had made such application

“ by De Souza, and that it had been refused ;
 “ and, with marks of indignation, told him, that
 “ if he did not choose to act alike by us, we
 “ would make it out independent of his assist-
 “ ance. He replied it was out of his power ;
 “ and that, should he see De Souza begging his
 “ bread, he would not give him a morsel. In
 “ this state we left him. However, he after-
 “ wards sent a small quantity of cloth and beads,
 “ which the peculiar circumstances we laboured
 “ under, alone, could have induced us to ac-
 “ cept.

“ Before I quit Sofala, I shall just add a few
 “ remarks on its situation, &c. Sofala is situ-
 “ ated on the north side of a small river, in lat.
 “ 26° 30' South ; the coast about it is very shal-
 “ low ; the bank extending off 16 or 20 leagues,
 “ mostly a sandy bottom, and pretty regular
 “ soundings. It is easily known at sea, from
 “ being in the midst of a grove of cocoa-nut
 “ trees, the only ones on that part of the coast.
 “ There are two channels into the river ; the
 “ southernmost, which is the shallowest, is for
 “ boats ; the other to the northward requires a
 “ pilot, for the sands shift, and there is water
 “ only for vessels of about 100 tons. There are

“ the remains of the church built by the first
 “ discoverers, and a small square fort, which at
 “ high water is insulated ; and a small creek,
 “ that winds round it when the tide is out, serves
 “ as a ditch. The appearance of it is not much
 “ in its favour, but from the nature of the in-
 “ habitants, it answers sufficiently. The Gover-
 “ nor is appointed from Mosambique, generally
 “ for three years ; he has under him a captain,
 “ with about 40 soldiers, who are enough to
 “ keep the natives in subjection. The few Por-
 “ tuguese here, are people who have been ban-
 “ ished from other places for misdemeanours,
 “ with the exception of two or three. The trade
 “ consists in the coarse cloths made at Surat,
 “ Damaun, Diu, &c. which are brought by one
 “ vessel annually, and exchanged for gold dust
 “ and sea-horses’ teeth. The Governor goes
 “ once a-year to the islands of Bazaroot, (about
 “ 20 leagues from Sofala,) which produce fine
 “ pearl oysters ; the produce, I believe, is con-
 “ fined to himself ; and, upon the whole, I am
 “ told he may contrive to make from 30 to
 “ 40,000 dollars before his time is out. Sofala
 “ bears evident marks of the encroachment of
 “ the sea. The flatness of the shore occasions

“ the tide to leave it dry for a great extent,
 “ and at low water, stumps of trees, &c. may
 “ be seen a long way out. I should think the
 “ coast here not discernible above six or seven
 “ leagues off, being very low.

“ It will be right to give some account of our
 “ way of travelling, and of the nature of the
 “ country we passed through, though we were
 “ but little in a condition to make remarks.
 “ Our guide was a native of the country, but was
 “ a soldier of the governor at Sofala. He had
 “ some years before been this journey, and was
 “ now entrusted with the governor’s letters.
 “ We had with us also, four or five men to carry
 “ our cloth and bundles, so that we were as light
 “ as could be. The first part of our journey,
 “ we crossed the two rivers that we entered be-
 “ fore we got to Sofala, and the second day
 “ stopped at a small village near the water,
 “ where a hut was prepared for us. I met
 “ with a misfortune in stepping out of the ca-
 “ noe ; one of my shoes stuck in the mud, and
 “ being dark, I could not find it again; and when
 “ I came to search for a pair of shoes I had
 “ brought from Madagascar, found they had
 “ been left behind in the hurry. It was no com-

“ fortable prospect to have to walk 300 miles
 “ bare-foot ; but, luckily, Mr. Wilton supplied
 “ me with a spare pair. Our road then lay
 “ across an extensive plain stretching inland.
 “ Some parts of it were very pleasant, and we
 “ often saw at a distance, herds of wild buffaloes
 “ very large. Little villages were scattered at
 “ 10 or 15 miles apart, but there were few in-
 “ habitants. Whenever we could, we endeavour-
 “ ed to reach one of these before night. The
 “ people in general were very civil : The men
 “ generally received us sitting in a row, and clap-
 “ ping their hands, which we always understood
 “ to be a token of friendship. The head man of
 “ each village, used to conduct us to a hut, pre-
 “ viously cleaned out for our reception ; procur-
 “ ed us water and fowls, with whatever else was
 “ to be got, and commonly sold us them himself.
 “ We used to give for a fowl, from four to six
 “ strings of beads, or an arm’s length of cloth, or
 “ perhaps a ring or two of tin ; the same for a
 “ small measure of a kind of flour made from a
 “ grain like millet, very wholesome stuff. Fre-
 “ quently after having sold us any thing, they
 “ would bring back what they had got in ex-
 “ change, and demand an equivalent of some-

“ thing else, and oblige us to produce our whole
 “ store, till the ladies were satisfied, who were al-
 “ ways the arbiters. The people who carried
 “ our things were generally changed at each vil-
 “ lage, and they were paid in cloth; about as
 “ much to each as get a fowl: If the stage had
 “ been longer than usual, something more. One,
 “ of these usually cooked our victuals, and we
 “ always remarked, that they never put in the
 “ liver, &c. whether these were kept to them-
 “ selves, or was a piece of superstition, I do not
 “ know; but once, having only two fowls, and
 “ those small, we determined to stand our own
 “ cooks, to make the supply go the farther; what
 “ was left of this, the natives would not touch, as
 “ they did when dressed by themselves. The wo-
 “ men would sometimes amuse us at night, with
 “ a dance round a fire, keeping time with their
 “ hands, to the music of the tom-tom, and two
 “ pieces of split bamboo. This was entertaining
 “ enough, but it always attracted a crowd about
 “ our hut, which was hot enough without, as we
 “ were obliged to keep a fire constantly in the
 “ night inside, to avoid being eaten up with mus-
 “ quitos and other insects, which were extremely
 “ troublesome. The 7th of November was a weary
 “ day to us; we had the night before slept in the

“ woods, with fires all round us : No village
 “ being near us, and having a long march in
 “ view before we could reach any, we set off
 “ early, when the moon rose, about two in the
 “ morning. As the way we had to pass was very
 “ much infested with lions and tigers particu-
 “ larly, our guide desired us all to carry a light-
 “ ed fire-brand in our hands, as the best means
 “ of defence, and the people with us had horns
 “ which they sounded as we went along, shout-
 “ ing loudly at the same time, whilst we were at
 “ a distance ; but as soon as we entered their
 “ haunts, kept as silent as mice. The path
 “ would only admit one person ; I must own I
 “ felt rather awkward, to hear the groaning, or
 “ rather the strong breathing of beasts on each
 “ side of me, and, to mend the matter, the guide
 “ missed his way once or twice : We were none
 “ of us sorry when day-light appeared. We
 “ now sat down to rest a little, and take some
 “ refreshment ; when suddenly the people who
 “ carried our things, started up and left us. We
 “ were at first surprised, not knowing the cause,
 “ but understood from the guide, that they
 “ would not proceed without a promise of giving
 “ them more cloth than agreed upon at first :
 “ We were obliged to comply, for we were in

“ the midst of a wood, and it was next to an
 “ impossibility for us to have found our way out,
 “ if they had left us. This trick was more than
 “ once practised. All this day, till five in the
 “ evening, did we march, and a hotter sun I never
 “ felt: A little stream or two of water that we
 “ passed were almost boiling; of course we suf-
 “ fered severely from thirst. I felt a slight *coup*
 “ *de Soleil*, which for a little time rendered me
 “ insensible, and at length I was so fatigued, that
 “ I would gladly have lagged behind, but did
 “ not dare. We often saw in the high grass
 “ marks where animals had been lying; and now
 “ and then came to a tree, on the top of which
 “ was laid sticks across, and a mat or two, which
 “ served as a resting place for any traveller who
 “ should be so inclined; for the country was so
 “ infested with beasts, that no one could inhabit
 “ it. Our guide informed us that those animals
 “ do not mix together; and we observed when
 “ we were near to the haunt of lions or tigers,
 “ they were under no apprehensions about ele-
 “ phants or buffaloes; and when we came to any
 “ place where elephants had been, were pretty
 “ sure there was no other creature. They often
 “ amused us with the manner in which they kill
 “ the wild beasts, but of the elephant they seemed

“ more afraid than any. I heard, but cannot
 “ say how true it is, that sometimes, if a man
 “ knows of a single elephant, he will hide him-
 “ self somewhere in the track, and after he has
 “ passed, slip under him and cut his ham strings.
 “ But sometimes we met with a party of men
 “ going to hunt the elephant, armed with long
 “ spears and knives; and this appears the most
 “ likely method. It is extremely dangerous to
 “ be near them before sun-rise. We saw one
 “ morning four or five prodigious large ones;
 “ they followed one after another with slow pace,
 “ and we could hear the cracking of the trees,
 “ as they pulled down the branches with their
 “ trunks. The zebra is a native of this country,
 “ we saw some near to Senna, but a long way off
 “ they appeared as large as small horses: the
 “ people here cover the poles of their palanquins
 “ with their skins. November 9th, we reached
 “ a place called Macai, about 100 miles from So-
 “ fala. It consists of a few huts only, by the
 “ side of a small river. We had travelled through
 “ a miserable tract of country, very thinly in-
 “ habited, probably the consequence of the slave
 “ trade at Mozambique; for 40 miles, not a hut
 “ or creature to be met with. From this place
 “ to Senna, the land belongs to the Lady Donna

, “ Ignez, who resides at Senna. A Portuguese
 “ lived here to superintend for her, and we re-
 “ ceived what civility he could shew. We stayed
 “ here till the 12th, and one of our party being
 “ ill, got a palanquin for him. We had no longer
 “ to pay people for carriage, as ‘the proprietor
 “ of the land makes her slaves do the duty.
 “ Our journey now was no ways different from
 “ the first part, except some of us beginning to
 “ complain of illness. We arrived at Chirim-
 “ goura, about 200 miles from Sofala. This last
 “ part produced a great deal of cotton, and we
 “ once met with two small trees, the leaves of
 “ which had the smell and taste of tea; it is not
 “ unlikely but it might have been the tea plant.
 “ Chiringoura was of some little consequence,
 “ and we were pleased to see cattle feeding
 “ again. An agent resides here to collect rents,
 “ and, fortunately for us, the husband of the
 “ lady happened to be here; he was very civil,
 “ and expressed great surprise that any one
 “ could have been so inhuman as to oblige us to
 “ perform such a journey on foot, situated as
 “ we were. We fared the better for his being
 “ here, getting victuals from his table; but in a
 “ day or two every one of us fell sick, and had
 “ it not been for the attention given us by the

“ agent, would have died for want of help. The
 “ gentleman, on seeing the state we were in,
 “ sent one of his sons express to Senna, to know
 “ the Governor’s pleasure, whether we should
 “ go at once there or to Killeman. The Go-
 “ vernor desired him to forward us there, and
 “ as soon as palanquins could be collected we set
 “ off, and in four days got to Senna. One of
 “ the men died the morning we arrived. Senna
 “ is about 300 miles from Sofala. We were car-
 “ ried to the Governor’s house, and while De
 “ Souza related our disasters, got some refresh-
 “ ment, and soon after went to the house ap-
 “ pointed for us, and had dinner sent us. While
 “ we were there a gentleman visited us, and had
 “ a long talk with De Souza; and in the even-
 “ ing sent palanquins to bring us all to his house.
 “ No one can rightly judge of what I felt on
 “ finding myself in a good room, and a comfort-
 “ able bed to lie on, unless, like me, he had been
 “ buffetting about for four months, a stranger to
 “ almost every comfort. I could scarcely for a
 “ while believe the transition. Our generous host
 “ appeared to share in the hardships we had un-
 “ dergone, and by the most unremitting kindness
 “ endeavoured to make us forget them: he him-
 “ self clothed and washed us, attended us every
 “ hour in the day, administered our medicines,

“ and, in short, outdid all we could have wish-
 “ ed. The principal inhabitants also came to
 “ see us, and expressed their wishes to assist us.
 “ Many of them sent clothes to us. A French
 “ surgeon attended us, (the only one in the
 “ place;) he was not very skilful, but made it
 “ up, as far as he could, in attention: he began
 “ with bleeding, and then gave bark. I thought
 “ he would have drawn me off like a pipe of
 “ wine, he took so much blood from me, but
 “ he said it was the common practice in fevers
 “ like ours.

“ *December 13th.* Another of the seamen died;
 “ and, on Christmas day, I had the grief of see-
 “ ing my poor friend Wilton breathe his last. I
 “ could not avoid forming a melancholy contrast
 “ between the last Christmas day, nappily spent
 “ in my own country, and this. Our kind land-
 “ lord endeavoured to cheer me, by urging me
 “ to sit at table; and he invited some company to
 “ attend when they removed the corpse of my
 “ departed friend. As my health returned, my
 “ anxiety to proceed increased; and the account
 “ I got of the unhealthiness of Madagascar at
 “ this season, by no means lessened it. I had,
 “ however, no remedy but patience, as a con-
 “ veyance was not then procurable, and passed
 “ away the time in picking up a few words of

“ Portuguese, or conversing with the Doctor in
 “ French. Smoking is invariably used in this
 “ country ; and I had, at every opportunity in
 “ our march taken a pipe, and have reason to think
 “ it was of service to me. They make very plea-
 “ sant segars, by rolling a little tobacco in a bit
 “ of dry plantain leaf ; every one carrying a lit-
 “ tle box of these, which is offered like a snuff-
 “ box. Senna is situated low, on the south side
 “ of the River Cuama, at about 200 miles from
 “ the sea. The current constantly runs down,
 “ unchecked by the tide ; and during the rainy
 “ season, which is chiefly in December and Ja-
 “ nuary, it becomes so rapid, that light boats
 “ may go from Senna to Killeman in two days,
 “ while the passage up is proportionately re-
 “ tarded. It requires sometimes as long as
 “ three weeks to convey goods in the large ca-
 “ noes up the river. The inhabitants of Sen-
 “ na, that is, the Portuguese, are not very
 “ numerous, but in general wealthy, which is
 “ estimated by the number of their slaves. Senior
 “ Manuel Ribiero dos Santos, our kind host,
 “ owned 800 of these. The owner gets the va-
 “ lue of their labour by hire, or employs them
 “ himself in agriculture, or searching for gold-dust.
 “ which is found in considerable quantities. . Op-

“ posite to Senna, are some very high mountains;
 “ among these lie the gold mines of Manica.
 “ The trade here is of the same nature as at So-
 “ fala ; the coarse cloths are circulated in the
 “ country, and the returns made in elephants’
 “ teeth, and gold-dust or slaves. . No money is
 “ current here, but accounts are kept in mati-
 “ cars, which is a certain quantity of gold-dust
 “ put up in a paper, and marked on the outside.
 “ The Portuguese have several other settlements
 “ higher up the river, but Senna is the chief.
 “ A small fort, close to the water, commands
 “ the river, and serves as barracks for a captain
 “ and two officers, with about thirty-five or for-
 “ ty soldiers. The governor was a pleasant
 “ agreeable man ; he sometimes entertained us
 “ with a small concert, in which a female slave
 “ played the second violin. He presented us
 “ with some wine on leaving Senna. We had
 “ an opportunity of seeing the arbitrary power
 “ vested in his hands : On a public day the in-
 “ habitants went to pay their respects to him ;
 “ being a people fond of show, our host sported
 “ a palanquin, which the governor thought too
 “ fine, and desired him to change it : Ribiero
 “ replied it was his own, and he would use it ;
 “ for this he was confined two days in the

“ guard-house of the fort. I suppose these
 “ things often happen, for he visited the gover-
 “ nor again after his release. January 16th,
 “ 1793, in the morning left Senna, and proceed-
 “ ed down the river : At night we stopped at a
 “ place called Chapango ; our friend Ribiero
 “ was proprietor here, and had a pleasant house
 “ upon a little eminence near the water. We
 “ found him here to receive us. Upon this
 “ estate the large trees, of which they make
 “ the canoes of burthen grow : We saw
 “ some they were just beginning upon, of a
 “ great size. An enterprising man from this
 “ source alone might soon amass a fortune ;
 “ but Ribiero was more of an open generous
 “ turn, than inclined to such pursuits. We re-
 “ mained here two days, and in that short time
 “ found much benefit from the change of air.
 “ On the 19th we took leave of our worthy
 “ and kind friend, with regret on both sides :
 “ he had abundantly supplied us with every
 “ thing necessary for the remainder of the way
 “ to Killeman, where we arrived the 22d. The
 “ boat people had loitered away their time, or
 “ we might have been there sooner. These
 “ were three very disagreeable days, for the
 “ canoes were so extremely narrow, that it was
 “ not possible to change one’s position in them,

“ for fear of upsetting ; and at night, thousands
 “ of musquitoes came out of the covering over
 “ the boat. De Souza presented the Governor
 “ of Senna’s letter to the commandant of Kille-
 “ man : he had been at this place eighteen
 “ years. We were very kindly received, and
 “ had an apartment in his house, with excellent
 “ living, which, with the sea air, soon brought us
 “ round. We experienced much civility from
 “ several of the inhabitants, particularly from
 “ Senior Andria Aveline, a merchant here. The
 “ master of a small sloop, who was preparing to
 “ sail for Mozambique, received orders to give
 “ us a passage free of expense ; and the com-
 “ mandant sent on board provisions for us.
 “ Killeman, from being a sea-port, enjoys ad-
 “ vantages over Senna, but otherwise is not
 “ of more importance : A pilot attends all ves-
 “ sels entering or going out, as there is a bar
 “ at the entrance of the river : the town is fif-
 “ teen or twenty miles from the sea. The only
 “ remaining seaman of our party thought proper
 “ to leave us here, because the master of the
 “ vessel, and the passengers, did not choose to
 “ let him mess with them. He would have had
 “ the same to eat as we had, with the boatswain ;
 “ but thought that as necessity had before kept

“ us on the same footing, we were all to continue
 “ the same from choice.—*January 31st.* Sailed
 “ from Killeman, in a sloop of about 60 or 70
 “ tons, deeply laden. There were, besides us,
 “ two other passengers : One was a poor man,
 “ very ill of a dropsy ; De Souza tapped him
 “ twice on the passage ; the other a priest, who,
 “ for some offence, was sent on board in irons to
 “ answer for his conduct at Mosambique. There
 “ were also above 50 slaves, so that the sloop was
 “ completely crowded in every part, and there
 “ was no shelter against the rain. There are
 “ many islands along the coast, and strong cur-
 “ rents prevail in general, setting to the south-
 “ ward, but by no means certain. We run past
 “ our port, and took three or four days to regain
 “ it. At last we reached Mosambique, Febru-
 “ ary 12th, 1793. Immediately on our arrival,
 “ we waited on the governor, and detailed to
 “ him the loss of the Winterton, and the circum-
 “ stances that had befallen us since we left the
 “ Island of Madagascar ; and I informed him
 “ that I had been deputed to solicit the aid of
 “ the Mosambique government, and requested
 “ him therefore, as much in an official, as an
 “ individual capacity, to send a vessel to the
 “ relief of my unfortunate shipmates. He an-

“swered, that he felt every inclination to assist
 “my companions, but was prevented from
 “acting up to his intentions, as there was no
 “vessel belonging to the Queen of Portugal
 “in the harbour. In this situation, I judged
 “myself empowered, from the official employ-
 “ment I filled, in the name of the East India
 “Company to freight a private vessel to pro-
 “ceed to Madagascar; and the liberal conduct
 “and active aid of the governor enabled me
 “soon to equip the ship for the intended voyage.
 “I also laid in a quantity of rice, biscuit, rum,
 “sugar, coffee, &c. for our return; the captain
 “of the vessel undertook, at his own cost, to
 “provide clothes for the ladies, which he did
 “very genteelly. I likewise procured a small
 “box of medicines, which were inspected by the
 “physician of the hospital. As I could not get
 “any salted meat, I took some salted fish, and
 “some casks and salt to cure meat at Madagascar;
 “and I likewise took three barrels of powder, six
 “muskets, some flints and balls, as a present for
 “the king. The first of March, I sailed from
 “Mosambique*; and, and after a tedious pas-
 “sage of 23 days, anchored in St. Augustine’s

* A vessel happening to sail at this time for the Isle of
 France, Mr. De Souza proceeded to that place as the best
 means of getting to India.

“ Bay. I cannot omit mentioning a circum-
 “ stance which occurred on the passage from Mo-
 “ sambique, as it gave me for the time more un-
 “ easiness than I ever felt. We had for the first
 “ three days a favourable wind, and had made
 “ half of the distance; but the currents had
 “ set us upon Madagascar, and, the wind shift-
 “ ing, we were obliged to coast along shore.
 “ As we lay at anchor one day, about two de-
 “ grees north of St. Augustine's Bay, some ca-
 “ noes came off to us, and, after some persuasion,
 “ the people ventured on board. One of them
 “ had on a hat which I knew must have come
 “ from the Winterton. I was very anxious to
 “ know how our poor fellows were, and used
 “ every means with this man, to see if he knew
 “ of them. The only sign I could get from him
 “ was, by his putting his finger across his throat,
 “ as if to cut it. My fear interpreted this in
 “ the worst sense; most probably he meant on-
 “ ly, (thinking we wanted him to go with us,)
 “ that if the king of Baba (whose name he often
 “ repeated) was to catch him, he would kill him,
 “ as being the subject of a prince of another
 “ part of the island.

“ On our arrival in St. Augustine's Bay, we
 “ hoisted Portuguese colours and fired several

“ guns, as signals to induce the natives to come
 “ off, but they were very shy, I do not know
 “ from what cause. At length a canoe came
 “ off, in which was our boatswain, in a very
 “ sickly state. He had lived at the Bay for
 “ some time, and said that the last time he heard
 “ from Tullear, about two months before, there
 “ were then dead eighty, and they were dying
 “ two or three in a day. The next morning I
 “ took the ship’s boat and proceeded to Tullear
 “ Bay, with such refreshments as I could carry
 “ with me. After landing, in my walk from
 “ the beach to the village, (about three miles,)
 “ I was met by such of our poor creatures as
 “ were able to crawl, hailing me as their de-
 “ liverer. I found the king sitting in a chair,
 “ (which had been washed from the wreck) un-
 “ der a tree amidst his principal people. Hav-
 “ ing made my present, I told him what I was
 “ come for. As I came in a Portuguese ship,
 “ he had no thoughts about me, and did not re-
 “ collect me for some time, till, being made to
 “ understand by his interpreter who I was,
 “ and partly remembering himself, he got up
 “ and embraced me with tears of joy at my safe
 “ return, for he had told me before I went, that
 “ we would certainly be drowned, and after be-

“ing away near seven months, he might well
 “think that it had proved so. A speech he
 “made me was worthy of the most enlightened
 • “mind. Seeing me regarding the sickly and
 “emaciated objects of our own people who
 “stood round us, and thinking that I was attri-
 • “buting the cause to him, he assured me that
 “it was not the *King of Baba* who made the
 “Englishmen die, but God; that he had sup-
 “plied them with bullocks, rice, &c. to make
 “them live: but, says he, ‘If God do this thing,
 “who can help.’”

The preparations for our departure from Tul-
 lear, were quickly made; and on the very even-
 ing of the day when Mr. Dale arrived, a gene-
 ral movement took place. Little did we think,
 when the morning of that day dawned, that we
 were to experience such an auspicious change
 before its close *. The ladies were conveyed in

* Just at the time of moving, some of the rogues of thieves,
 who had often annoyed us, were determined to have a last
 pluck. Having gone out of my hut for a little, I found, on
 my return, one in the act of preparing to carry off all my bag-
 gage. The extent of it, to be sure, was not great, consisting,
 perhaps, of one spare shirt, a pair of country trowsers, and a

a sort of temporary hammocks to the port of Tullear, and from thence by the ship's boat to St. Augustine's Bay. Such of the other passengers as were wholly unable to walk, were also carried to the sea-side, and made the best of their way to St. Augustine in canoes; but, from the contracted nature of those boats, it was, in our state of illness, a severe and tedious process, though the best conveyance then attainable; and, in the course of our little voyage, many were our fears and anxieties, lest some new disaster should yet dash our cup of expected felicity*. It being requisite to prepare a

piece of coarse broad cloth, that had long served as a covering by night and by day; but all this was very valuable to the owner, and I made a sort of expiring effort to save it, by running at the thief, who was probably afraid of detection; for he might almost have knocked me down with his little finger. I think, however, all was thus rescued. What I have stated may give a general idea of the nature of our equipment while in Madagascar. We depended very much on the cotton cloth of the island for clothing, aided by what remained of the tattered fragments of our English dresses. My store was rather respectable, being the proprietor of two shirts, one of which I had purchased for ten dollars, though formerly my own. I had picked up a large coarse soldier's hat, which was a very faithful companion, though it had a "double debt to pay," serving as a hat in the day-time, and a night-cap at night.

* I do not now recollect whether I was of the number carried, or among those who crawled on foot to the port of Tul-

quantity of salt provisions, &c. for our voyage to Mosambique, things were not ready for our final departure for about a week after we reached St. Augustine. But, with the means of relief in view, we enjoyed a sort of security to which we had been very long strangers. During the interval, we (with the exception of the ladies) remained on shore; but the preparations, which had been very actively going on, being completed, the day of final embarkation at length arrived. The vessel was no more than about 150 tons burthen, ^{it} having been, as has been seen, the only one that it had been possible to procure, and we were, of course,

lear; but I believe the former. We did not, I think, reach St. Augustine's Bay till late next forenoon.

I find it noted in Mr. Dale's M.S. : " One of our sailors, it " would appear, discovered charms here, (Madagascar,) I " could not, in voluntarily choosing to remain behind." This recalls to mind a fact that was mentioned to me a number of years after, by a gentleman who was on board; that an Indian, (I believe it was,) happening from some unlooked-for circumstance to touch at St. Augustine's Bay in 1799 or 1800, found there a man who had belonged to the Winterton, who was described, when he came on board, to have been seemingly in a sort of amazed bewildered state. Ascribing the intelligence, at the time, to some mistake, I did not make more particular inquiry, and have not at present the means of doing so, but, when an opportunity offers, I shall certainly be inclined to trace the subsequent history of this person.

much crowded, as our number still exceeded an hundred. There was only one small cabin, which the ladies occupied, so that our sufferings, though light in comparison with what we had before gone through, were not terminated. The passage to Mosambique happily did not exceed a week ; but having been exposed, during that time, frequently to heavy rains, with a hot sun by day and the chill of night, our many severe complaints were, no doubt, greatly aggravated by these causes, and if the voyage had not been providentially short, the effects would probably have proved very fatal. Though many deaths happened after we reached Mosambique, I rather think that none occurred on the way there.

Before I take my final leave of Madagascar, I must recur for a few moments to the subject of the climate of that island. I have already expressed myself somewhat particularly on this point, as I look forward to the event of some exertion being made for the diffusion of Christian civilization in that large tract of country ; and I should feel unspeakable concern, if any thing I may have written should be the cause of bringing into unnecessary exposure, the life or health of any of those meritorious individuals

who are so disinterestedly and actively engaged, in imparting the tidings of the Gospel to the most distant heathen nations. While engaged in writing this Narrative, I have seen, with deep concern, that the climate of the east coast of Madagascar has already operated with fatal effect on the missionary establishment instituted in that quarter * ; and that, in the course of six

* The island of Tananarive, annexed to Madagascar. The account here mentioned is taken from the Missionary Register of January 1820. Having referred to this Register, I may be permitted to say, that I know no periodical work conducted with more impartiality and judgment, combined with much literary taste, than this most interesting publication. It affords a luminous view of the advances rapidly making in many parts of the world in the path of mental and moral culture ; of nations that, a few years ago, were in the grossest state of barbarism and cannibalism, now emerging from that condition, and gradually rising in the scale of civilization. The paramount object of this excellent publication is to give an abridged account of the operations of the numerous Missionary and other similar societies, now established in all parts of the world, and of the exertions of the many meritorious persons acting under the direction of the parent institutions, exertions that have no parallel since the Apostolic ages : With this object is, at the same time, combined a sort of moral history of the world, which, abstracted from its higher aim, is in itself greatly interesting, and could hardly fail to awaken every mind, and warm every heart, if it were not for one objection—the startling name of *Missionary*. A very large proportion of mankind, (to borrow the words of the Northern Addison,) “ take their ideas from sounds,” instead of judging of facts, and this is eminently so in the present case, as I feel

or seven weeks, of six persons, five had died under circumstances of the most afflicting kind.

quite assured that it is impossible for any one who is capable of thinking at all, to look attentively into the proceedings in question, without applauding the motives that have led to them, admiring their success, and saying from the heart, "God speed." If circumstances admit of it, I may be led to resume this important subject a little more at large ; but, in the mean time, I may say, that the opinions I entertain are free, I believe, from what may be called any undue bias, being the result of as careful an examination as I have been able to give to the subject ; when it began, if there was a bias, it perhaps leaned the other way. I am quite aware that there has been occasionally an objectionable mode of expression, and perhaps of acting, adopted by some individuals of the missionary establishments ; but this may be much traced to the infancy of those institutions. Many of the missionaries now, are men of as profound erudition as any other class of society can boast. Would it be consistent with reason, that because among many individuals scattered over the face of the earth, occasional aberrations may have occurred, the whole system should be condemned ; and between seven and eight hundred millions of our fellow-creatures consigned to the hopeless darkness of heathenism ? Apply to our most revered institutions such a test as this, and see how they would stand the analysis. If the support of the missionary cause is right, and the demonstration of its being so seems matter of no difficulty, what is to be said of those who deliberately oppose it, or who are careless on the subject ? Supposing such persons not to be infidels, let them turn to the last words uttered by our Saviour on earth, " Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." Is it possible to believe that those who set themselves against this express command, or are indifferent as to its fulfilment, can be viewed with approbation by our Divine

It has been visible, from many striking examples that have occurred of late years, in the west coast of Africa*, that the missionary zeal

Master, who will ere long stand as our judge? It is common, Sunday after Sunday, to hear prayers offered in our churches for the extension of the Gospel among the Jewish and Heathen nations; but is it much short of blasphemous mockery to hear persons joining in such prayers, and yet not taking one step towards the attainment of the object, by personal exertion, by contributions, or in any other of the many ways that will present themselves to all in the least interested in the great cause? Prayers are also offered up for favourable weather, and abundant seasons, but what would be said of the persons so engaged, who allowed their fields to remain uncultivated and unsown, leaving them in hopeless sterility, or to be over-run by the noxious growth of unaided nature; would we not pronounce their doings to be those of fanatics or hypocrites? The cases are so precisely in unison, that the same remarks are analogous to both. It should be remembered, that the question is not as to reasons that may, or may not, flippantly pass during a short hour among mortals such as ourselves: but what will stand the retrospect of the bed of death; what, above all, will bear the final scrutiny of Him "who sees all hearts; before whom no secrets are hid;" who both will "bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will "make manifest the counsels of the hearts." Is not holding back on this point, in truth, a denial of our Saviour; and we know what he has in the most plain terms denounced with regard to those who do so! It may be well to lay it to our consciences, if it is not a tinfid subserviency to the world, and that only, that often prevents our here doing what our own mind tells us is right: "*Video meliora, proboque, deteriora sequor.*"

* The constant failure of every European attempt to penetrate effectually into the interior of Africa's vast continent,

is of too high an order to be discouraged by such events, however distressing; but while we see it to be almost invariably in the scheme

would lead to suppose that the barrier is almost insuperable. The debt, however, that the European world owes to this much injured country is still of enormous amount; and it must continue the earnest desire of every right mind to free it from that state (in the words of an illustrious statesman, now no more,) "of bondage, ignorance, and blood," which it was so long the object of Europe to maintain. According to all human appearance, the course of measures now going on at Sierra Leone; and the neighbouring towns, is eminently calculated to this end; slavery itself being made an instrument for correcting its own evils. The liberated slaves, young and old, when rescued from the captured slave-ships, are placed under the tuition of Missionaries employed on that duty*, and many have been the examples of rapid progress in knowledge, and of their arrival at high attainments. The number of the natives of Africa under this course of instruction amounts, I believe, to some thousands, and in returning again to the regions from whence they had been dragged, they can hardly fail there to plant many of the kindly fruits they had gathered in a more genial soil. A mission so kept up will probably in time supply, in a considerable degree, the want of more direct European intercourse, and convey to the African people those blessings which such intercourse might have been expected in the present day to produce. This, I believe,

* For example, according to the latest accounts from Sierra Leone, it appears that several slave-ships had been intercepted by our cruisers, one of which vessels, a schooner, had on board 123 negroes, "a great proportion of whom were children under ten years of age." It must be taken also into account, that the commercial prosperity of the west coast of Africa is increasing under the present system of government; a change that may, in a political view only, ere long lead to great national results.

of Providence that great results should not be accomplished without much previous difficulty and danger, it clearly behoves every well-wisher to use the best means of diminishing those dangers and difficulties to the utmost possible extent. I dare not express a hope that the climate of the country connected with St. Augustine's Bay would be found more healthy than that of the east coast, but I am strongly inclined to think, that with a little precaution, its baneful effects might be palliated—perhaps avoided. From what we have heard, and a little also from what we saw, I rather think that the climate, during the cool season, viz. from May or June to September or October, is not very unfavourable.

is one of the objects kept steadily in view, and much has been done towards its accomplishment ; but it is impossible to behold without feelings of sadness, the heavy sacrifice of valuable lives with which the work has been already attended. The climate of Sierra Leone is apparently of a very deadly kind, and many are the Missionaries that have been swept away ere their labours had well begun. None, however, appear to have repented the choice they had made ; and we find others, with the heroic ardour that filled the martyrs of former times in our own and other countries, pressing forward to take their part, committing their ways to Him who expects, in certain cases, the sacrifice of life, if required, to be made in his cause, and has repeatedly declared, " That whosoever shall lose his life for his sake and the Gospel's shall find it."

With the facilities of communication which we possess at the Cape of Good Hope, I cannot see any reason why the experiment might not be tried during those months. The object is manifestly a national one, and would probably be viewed as such by the public authorities of that station, and the conveyance of the missionaries be accordingly facilitated. I have had no late tidings of our friends at Madagascar, but I doubt not they would receive, with open arms any missionaries that might land on their shore, and that, with regard to personal safety, such persons would be as much protected there as in their own country. They might, in the course of a very short time, form a judgment of their probable success, and also of the probable effect of the climate. To guard against the injuries of the latter, they might be periodically visited by any vessel so appointed, and withdraw if it should be found decidedly inimical. In such event it forcibly occurs, that still another course might be taken with much promise of success. We have seen the inhabitants of New Zealand, Africa, and other distant countries, conveyed to England for the purpose of mental improvement, and returning to their native climes to impart to their countrymen the lights with which

their own minds had been stored. The miserable traffic of slaves is indeed enough to dissolve the bonds of confidence that ought to bind man to man: but such was the feeling of attachment for the English that existed, and it may be presumed does still exist among the people around St. Augustine, that I do not think they would hesitate to commit some of their youthful relatives to the charge of any persons whom they saw interested in their welfare, particularly as it does not appear that there could be any necessity for conveying them beyond the Cape of Good Hope. They might have the advantage of being instructed under the eye of some of the numerous missionaries now labouring in that vineyard; and possessing, as the Madagascar people do, a very high degree of natural acuteness, they would very soon be in a state to diffuse the benefit of such instruction in their own Island. If it should be found practicable to pursue this course systematically for a term of years, it might not be unreasonable to look forward to the progressive, though gradual, accomplishment of a great moral revolution in the Madagascar mind. In my humble apprehension this object is not unattainable, in the supposed event of its being found improper, from

the insalubrity of climate, or any other cause, to station missionaries permanently on that island : but if this latter plan is judged, with safety, practicable, (for a limited period, even of the year,) the success which may be reasonably anticipated would of course be greatly advanced. I shall only farther add, that I am persuaded it is material that any missionaries who may go to Madagascar should have been already for some time in a warm climate, and in that way what is called *seasoned*, instead of proceeding direct from Europe ; the constitution being in the latter case always more open to the influence of tropical disease.

PART FOURTH.

*Our Departure from Mosambique ; Capture ; and
Events which befel us till we reached Madras.*

As Captain Dale has given a very distinct account of the island of Mosambique, the perusal of it may be satisfactory to the reader before proceeding in the sequel of our narrative.

“ The capital of Mosambique is situated on a
 — small island, about three miles in circumference,
 “ in Lat. 15° 4' South. The harbour is between
 “ the island and the main, which at both ends
 “ are pretty close. All the south part is bound-
 “ ed by rocks ; but there is an entrance for
 “ boats about half a league to the eastward of
 “ Mosambique, by the small rocky islets called
 “ St. George's and Goa. Small vessels coming

“ from the southward usually pass between them;
 “ but it is not safe for large ships, there being
 “ only four fathom water. The coast here is
 “ low ; but a little to the northward is a remark-
 “ able high land resembling a table. It is a very
 “ good mark both for ships coming from sea
 “ and for the pilot. The entrance to the har-
 “ bour is round the north end of the island, on
 “ which stands a pretty strong fort, from whence
 “ they hail every thing that comes in. The
 “ head pilot here is a Moor man. He receives
 “ 40 dollars for each vessel, viz. 20 entering and
 “ 20 sailing. The pilotage is not difficult, as on
 “ the north side lies a steep bank, the edge of
 “ which may be always seen ; but it often hap-
 “ pens that ships get off the port, and have not
 “ a fair wind to enter, (there is not room to
 “ turn,) and then it is necessary to have a pilot
 “ to choose good anchoring ground. No ship
 “ should attempt to keep under weigh off here
 “ during the night, from the force and uncer-
 “ tainty of the currents. When I was at Mo-
 “ sambique, I saw an instance of this in the case
 “ of two vessels, (English whalers.) The pilot
 “ went off to them as soon as they appeared, but
 “ was not taken on account of the high charge.
 “ The next morning one of them was seen on

“ the rocks a perfect wreck. The other had
 “ struck too, but got off, and was then glad
 “ enough to take the pilot. The poor captain
 “ of the wrecked vessel was in great trouble,
 “ which would have been increased had he not
 “ found us here. The effects saved from his
 “ ship were to be sold ; but I doubt he did not
 “ get near their value, though such things were
 “ much wanted ; (I did not see a spare anchor or
 “ cable in the place.) I was told by a Portuguese
 “ captain, who had made many voyages here from
 “ India, that he could by no means account for the
 “ currents ; that sometimes they set one way,
 “ and immediately changed without any appa-
 “ rent cause. Once when he was off the har-
 “ bour at night, and concluding that the current
 “ set to the southward, he kept under weigh,
 “ steering to the northward, about three knots
 “ all night, and at day-light found himself four
 “ leagues to the southward of the harbour. In
 “ my way to Madagascar for our people, I had
 “ an opportunity of seeing something of their
 “ effect : For some days we had the wind from
 “ the southward moderate, and though we lay
 “ up, as we thought, to make a little southing,
 “ or at least to hold our own, found we lost
 “ each day from 15 to 25 miles in latitude ; but

„ a day or two previous to anchoring in St. Au-
 „ gustine's Bay, the wind increased, and blew a
 „ strong gale for two days from the southward,
 „ so as to keep us under our courses ; and in
 „ that time we were set directly against the
 „ wind near two degrees (or 120 miles,) instead
 „ of losing ground. It is much to be desired
 „ that means should be used to cause the Mo-
 „ sambique Channel to be correctly surveyed,
 „ which might perhaps be done by the cruizers
 „ on the Bombay station, without any detriment
 „ to the service in which they are usually em-
 „ ployed, and which might ultimately be the
 „ means of preserving many a valuable life and
 „ ship. " I am convinced there are many dan-
 „ gers existing here that are unknown ; and
 „ likewise as to those that have been seen, their
 „ true position is not ascertained. I am incli-
 „ ned to the opinion, that the whole of the west-
 „ ern coast of Madagascar is laid down in our
 „ charts too far to the eastward : It has been re-
 „ marked frequently, that ships make that land
 „ sooner than they expect. I cannot otherwise
 „ reconcile the great error which appeared in
 „ our case. Had Captain Dundas been at all
 „ doubtful of his time-pieces, I should not so
 „ much wonder, but they had always proved

“extremely correct : And I cannot imagine
 “(though it is possible) that currents alone
 “should have made a difference of near 90
 “miles in the space of 15 hours ; that is, from
 “noon preceding till the ship struck. A re-
 “spectable nautical authority told me, that he
 “had, from his own observation, good reason to
 “be of the same opinion. Perhaps when the
 “present war is over, something may be done
 “in the way I have mentioned *.”

“The Governor of Mosambique is appointed
 “from Europe, and is wholly independent of
 “the Governor of Goa. His situation is reck-
 “oned little inferior, if not equal, in emolu-
 “ment, to the latter, and much better than Ma-
 “cao, the Governor of which is under the or-
 “ders of the government of Goa. While I was
 “gone to Madagascar for our people, a new go-
 “vernor had arrived in a frigate from Lisbon.
 “Their appointment is for three years, but they
 “usually stay six ; the salary is 6000 dollars
 “per annum, and they have various ways of ma-

* Since Captain Dale wrote his Narrative, we have obtained possession of the Cape of Good Hope and the Isle of France, which must have afforded great facilities for the attainment of the objects he mentions ; and, no doubt, advantage will have been taken to investigate the important points he alludes to. EDITOR.

“ king a large fortune, though by no means
 “ equal to what is acquired by the servants of
 “ the English Company in India. A person
 “ here is said to possess a good fortune if he
 “ is worth 100,000 dollars.” The council con-
 “ sists of five members, viz. the governor, the
 “ head judge, or, as he is called, *Ministre* ; the
 “ treasurer, and two of the principal inhabitants
 “ who have commonly filled the governments of
 “ Senna and Killeman, all of which are subordi-
 “ nate to, and appointed by the governor here.
 “ The garrison of Mosambique does not exceed
 “ 120 men, with officers in proportion, but many
 “ of the inhabitants get commissions tacked to
 “ their names by the help of money ; this is one
 “ of the governor’s perquisites, who, for a cer-
 “ tain sum, gives them local rank, and it is very
 “ immaterial whether they are confirmed at
 “ home or not, for scarcely one ever returns.
 “ Many of the inhabitants have been exiled
 “ from Europe, and those who voluntarily settle
 “ here, if they marry, are not allowed to quit
 “ the island ; this is from a motive of mistaken
 “ policy, and intended to keep up the number,
 “ for the place is so very unhealthy that few
 “ would remain here after they had the means
 “ of quitting it. Not more than one half of the

" island, small as it is, is built upon. The south
 " of it is chiefly composed of stone quarries,
 " from whence they build their houses ; there is
 " also a small fort on that end of the isle. There
 " are five or six churches here, under the juris-
 " diction of a bishop, who resides on the spot.
 " There is not one spring of water on the island ;
 " what they use is either brought over from the
 " main land, (from whence they get most of the
 " articles of life,) or such as is collected in cis-
 " terns during the rainy season. This place is
 " worse supplied with provisions than any I ever
 " was in ; it was with the greatest difficulty I
 " could procure subsistence for our people ; but
 " the heat is so excessive that a small quantity
 " of animal food suffices. Every inhabitant
 " keeps his own poultry, pigs, and a cow, for
 " there is no market. During the time of
 " Lent they are pretty well supplied with fish,
 " by fishermen who come from the Querimba
 " Islands, at a little distance, but at other times
 " they are badly off. Their way of living is
 " an early breakfast of tea or milk, and about
 " noon they dine, chiefly on rice and a little
 " curried fish or fowl ; they drink a sort of
 " small wine and water, and never exceed a
 " glass of wine or two at dinner. After smoking

“ a little they retire and take a nap or siesta, and
 “ in the evening, walk about. Those who eat
 “ suppers, have much the same as at dinner, and
 “ then go early to bed. Their principal recrea-
 “ tion seemed to be after dark, when a number
 “ of them assemble together, having chairs
 “ brought out in the street, and there sit smok-
 “ ing and conversing. I was more pleased with
 “ the hospital than any thing. I visited our
 “ people in it once or twice a-day, and always
 “ found it neat and clean, with constant attend-
 “ ance ; they burnt a sort of berry, which was
 “ very grateful to the smell. Some of the weal-
 “ thiest inhabitants have country houses on
 “ the opposite shore, with small plantations,
 “ on which they chiefly cultivate the Man-
 “ tiocha ; this is the food of the slaves. I
 “ should imagine that the manufacture of
 “ indigo might be prosecuted to advantage here.
 “ All the coast abounds with it ; and at Kille-
 “ man I saw a specimen of it, which the com-
 “ mandant had made for experiment, apparent-
 “ ly good. The trade from India to this port
 “ is brought in fifteen or twenty vessels, from
 “ 150 to 300 tons. They generally arrive in
 “ March and April, and sail for India in August,
 “ chiefly in ballast. Coarse cloths form the

“ principal parts of the imports, and from hence
 “ all the subordinate settlements are supplied.
 “ Another distinct trade is carried on in slaves :
 “ these are purchased by the French who come
 “ from the Isle of France. A few European
 “ articles find a market here ; but the pay-
 “ ments for slaves are mostly made in Spanish
 “ dollars. The duty on dollars forms a part of
 “ the revenue ; and the government is at some
 “ pains to suppress the smuggling them on shore.
 “ The new governor, while I was there, placed
 “ a serjeant and four men on board each French
 “ ship for that purpose, and they were to find
 “ them in provisions, which gave much offence.
 “ The general returns to India consist of ivory,
 “ gold dust, and dollars. The great exporta-
 “ tion of these last, so as to drain the place of
 “ its current money, perhaps, gave rise to the
 “ measure that took place some time ago. By
 “ the order of the then governor, all dollars cir-
 “ culated previous to, and of the date of 1775,
 “ were in a manner laid under embargo, by put-
 “ ting a stamp on them, which immediately af-
 “ fixed, in idea, 50 per cent. additional value.
 “ These pass for six cruzades or three rupees ;
 “ whereas the dollars, subsequent to that time,
 “ are only valued at four cruzades, except at

“ the time when remittances are made to Goa,
 “ when they bear sometimes a premium of 40
 “ per cent. This method, though obviously
 “ very inadequate in its nature, serves to keep a
 “ certain quantity of coin in circulation. There
 “ is also a small base metal coin used among
 “ the slaves. A healthy man-slave sold, when
 “ I was there, for 140 cruzades, or 70 rupees;
 “ that is, between eight and nine pounds Ster-
 “ ling *.”

On our arrival at Mosambique, the ladies
 were taken into the houses of the different prin-
 cipal inhabitants, where they experienced, I be-
 lieve, much hospitality and kindness. The ac-
 commodation assigned to the gentlemen passen-
 gers was in a large building, a good deal re-
 sembling a barrack, there being ten or twelve
 in one room. Considering the impoverished
 state of the place, much could not be expected
 in the way of living, and our fare had not much

* It is not uninteresting to see the complete warfare that
 seems to be carried on in this island, against every principle
 of the science of political economy. (Ed.)

to recommend it ; but things, inferior enough in themselves, were to us luxuries when contrasted with past privations. On our first arrival, we were visited by many as a sort of show ; but when that had gone by, we were left much to ourselves ; and the period required to equip the vessel destined to convey us to India, appeared long and wearisome. Sauntering about in the cool of the morning and evening, and resting on our beds in the forenoon, chiefly filled up the daily routine. The island is the least inviting in appearance that it is possible to imagine a place to be ; and is also considered unhealthy. But I, for one, certainly gained ground while here, and others apparently did the same, with the exception of those who went to the hospital, of whom a great part never again came out. We remained on the island about two months ; and during that time about thirty died, being between a third and a fourth of our whole number. I have no doubt that every care was bestowed on the sick (as justly described by Mr. Dale,) but many had arrived in a dying state ; and whatever the wish to administer relief might be, I believe that medical science was here at the lowest possible ebb. The principles of Sangrado were the chief rule of practice ; bleed-

ing to reduce, and hot water, with a mixture of sugar, as a restorative; so that where the sand-glass of life had nearly already run to its close, it is not much to be wondered ~~at~~ that this medical handling quickened its course, and instead of reviving, finally extinguished the vital embers *. By the 10th of June, the vessel that had been freighted to carry us to Madras was ready; and it was matter of no small rejoicing when the period of embarkation arrived. Mr. Dale being, from his situation of senior officer, brought much more in contact with the principal inhabitants of Mosambique than any other person, had much the best opportunity of judging of them; and it is due to them, and to him, to insert the following extract from his MS. :—
 “ Before I take my leave of Mosambique, grati-

* One of the ladies, Miss L.—, died at Mosambique. Her brother, a very handsome young man, destined for the Madras army, died some time before, and his sister, who had been before ill, never recovered the shock. One of the passengers, who saw her not long before her death, and who had also a brother, mentioned the bitter tears that she, poor thing, shed, when, summoning all her resolution, she enquired after his brother's welfare.

It is remarkable that Miss L.— was the first of the ladies who died from the period of the wreck. All had been at times very ill, but the climate did not operate with regard to them with the same fatal severity as in other cases.

"tude requires me to express the very great,
 "civility and attention I received from its
 "inhabitants, a sense of which I shall ever
 "retain." From what, however, has been said
 as to the disadvantages of the island, it will
 be obvious that it could not be a desirable
 place of residence, and the day of departure was
 accordingly heartily welcomed. The size of the
 vessel was about 250 tons; it was divided into
 two cabins, the after-one occupied by the ladies,
 and the other by the gentlemen passengers. The
 expence of the freight and equipment was de-
 frayed by bills drawn on the East India Com-
 pany, jointly by Mr. Dale and the purser*. It
 being necessary to stop at Johanna to obtain the
 supplies which had not been procurable at Mo-
 sambique, we reached that island on the 13th
 June, the navigation being very short and easy.
 About ten years before, this delightful place was
 visited by Sir William Jones in his way to India,

* "Our vessel was so crowded, that the governor pro-
 posed to me to let some of our people remain till an In-
 dian came (then expected.) I mentioned it to them;
 "and twelve chose to stay. These were brought to Madras
 "soon after I arrived there, by an English ship which had
 "been dispatched from Bombay to our relief." (Mr. Dale's
 MS.)

on board of the Crocodile frigate; and those who have read his interesting description of the island, know nearly as much as any one could say regarding it, and a great deal more than most would be able to say, for he had the chemical talent of analyzing every subject with skill peculiarly his own. He travelled into the interior of the island on a visit to the king, and he compares the scenery to any thing he had seen in Wales or Switzerland. The inhabitants, who are of Arabic stock, and zealous Mahometans, are lively and intelligent, having among them some share of literary acquirement. Nothing amuses a stranger more than seeing Dukes and Lords, of every degree, crowding on board of a newly arrived vessel, with their various testimonials, and soliciting employment. The Duke of Y—— has good lodgings; Lord M—— washes well; Lord L—— supplies good fruit, and is honest in his dealings—with many other such. It is to be feared, however, that the patents of nobility, which come from somewhat promiscuous hands, are not always conferred with due discrimination; for it must be confessed, that some of their Lordships are great rogues, and do not consider pilfering beneath their dignity. We remained about a week, which most, I believe, passed very

pleasantly on shore, getting accommodation in the different houses as they best could. The house I was in was comfortable enough, though small, and a good deal surrounded with walls: the same apartment answered for eating and sleeping, and was occupied by three or four of us. We relished much their curries, and an abundant supply of oranges and other fruits. Though our health debarred all distant perambulations, the days we passed here were the pleasantest we had spent for many months*. Things being ready, we again put to sea, with a fine strong breeze, and in a fortnight got into about 5° N. Lat. In about a fortnight more we expected to reach Ceylon, where it was intended, I believe, to stop for fresh supplies. Appearances for a time were quite promising, but new clouds began now to gather. On the morning of the 7th July, about eight o'clock, we saw, a long way

* As a proof that the natural generosity of the Arab-character is to be met with at Johanna, I insert the following extract from Mr. Dale's MS.: "It happened to be the fate of one of the governor of Johanna's sons to find an asylum here, (Mosambique,) after shipwreck, as well as myself. This generous fellow, though he had saved but a few pieces of cloth, insisted on my accepting a part of it; and when I saw him afterwards in his native island, he loaded me with presents of fruit," &c

a-stern, a ship which was supposed to be English. Our vessel being a mere tub of a sailer, by mid-day the stranger had got very near us, and the impression still continuing that she was English, we shortened sail to speak her. A vessel supposed to be from England, or some part of India, was a very novel sight; and it was amusing to see the various fancies that were at work—some longing for cheese and porter, others for the long untasted luxury of Port wine, while others again fancied a wish to know a little of what was passing in the world that we had been so long out of; and it was the intellectual epicures that were to be first gratified, though not exactly in the way anticipated. The stranger vessel, when at a little distance, fired a shot to leeward as a civil hint; but our commander not having taken it, and continuing still to stand on, another shot was soon fired, seemingly *at* us, and the French national flag displayed, a sufficient intimation of what had befallen us. I suppose we (miserable cargo as we were) were considered as contraband goods*, and

* This idea could not, perhaps, be deemed quite new nor unclassical, as may be remembered from Voltaire's declaration to the douaniers, who were searching his carriage at the barrier of Paris, as he returned from exile: "*Il n'y a rien de contrebande que moi.*"

as the doctrine of free ships and free commerce would not at that time have been quite convenient in its application, a different course was taken. An examination of the ship papers took place, but I fancy our captors did not trouble themselves much as to legal refinements; and if other laws would not suit, that most accommodating statute *la loi du plus fort* was at hand. The privateer we had now fallen in with was one of the first fitted out from the Isle of France; they had got wind of a Dutch Indiaman being some where on the Malabar coast, and were full in pursuit to make, as they thought, a certain prize. As this scheme, they imagined, might be marred by our proceeding towards India, they judged it best at all hazards to make sure, and so decided, that instead of India the Isle of France should be our destination. Our captors had certainly not much ground for boasting; but the best friends of the French will allow that this is a weak point, and that with them the passion is susceptible of being nourished on very spare diet. In the course of the day we were visited in succession by, I believe, most of the people of the privateer, and I dare say there was not one of them who, in his own mind, was not equal to the conquest of the British fleet. This is none of

the least irksome parts of a capture ; the exultation on the one hand, contrasted with the depression on the other, the ascending and descending scale of comparison: It was decided that the Portuguese commander, with Mr. Dale, and between 20 and 30 of the healthiest of our people, should be taken on board of the privateer, and a prize-master, with another officer, and five or six men, were sent on board of our vessel. All those arrangements were completed by about eight o'clock in the evening, when the vessels parted to pursue their opposite courses. The privateer reached Tutacorine, on the coast of Malabar, a few days after, and found the looked-for Indiaman : but the tables were very unexpectedly turned, and instead of the easy capture they had anticipated, they were, after an action of fifteen minutes, themselves obliged to strike. As I am here about to take leave of my valuable ~~companion~~ companion, Mr. Dale, I will insert the few sentences that remain of his narrative, describing his arrival at Madras after his unlooked-for release.

“ Being thus again at liberty, I repaired to
 “ Palamcottah, and received there the greatest
 “ civility from the garrison. In a short time an-
 “ order came to provide a boat for our convey-

"ance to Madras. We passed over what is call-
 "ed Adam's Bridge, and off Negapatam were
 "picked up by the Drake, one of the Company's
 "cruizers. The next day we joined Admiral
 "Cornwallis in the Minerva frigate, off Pondi-
 "cherry, the siege then going on. The few sea-
 "men with me were pressed *. The view of the
 "English army encamped on the Red Hills be-
 "hind Pondicherry was very fine. Two of our
 "Indiamen, the Royal Charlotte and Warley,
 "formed the blockade, with the frigate. This
 "was August 19th. The besieged kept up a
 "smart fire; but a short time after our batte-
 "ries opened, on the 23d, they surrendered.
 "On August 20th, 1793, I arrived at Madras in
 "the Drake, twelve months after our unfortunate
 "shipwreck." •

To return to our vessel. I cannot adequately
 ly describe the feelings of disappointment we ex-
 perience^d when sentence was pronounced, and

* Considering what these men had already gone through in
 the public service, it is to be hoped, and presumed, that this
 was only done under an urgent necessity. Ed.

our retrograde movement commenced. We had got so near to India that we felt almost as if there, and were forming our various schemes of life, with the certainty of early accomplishment : but we were now wheeled back we scarcely knew where, and for a time we knew not how long. Ithaca seemed completely to fly before us ; and the fabled distresses of Tantalus and Sisyphus could hardly have been greater than the disappointment which had befallen us, and which for the time was a death-blow to all our hopes. Such were, I am sure, the feelings of all at first ; but it is surprising how soon minds that have any elasticity will rally and resume their usual tone. We had not gone very far in our altered course before our spirits got much into their usual channel, and the determination returned to make the most of our new circumstances. The junior officer of the two who had been sent on board, was not one of much polish ; but he was steady and sensible, and seemed quite to understand his business. The prize-master was what might be called an oddity—a short shrivelled figure, with much more mercury in his heels, than sense in his head. He bore visible marks of being what is called up in years ; but like others that all of us have seen in that hopeless predicament, did

not like to acknowledge it. In truth he courted very much the smiles of the ladies, more certainly than those of the French divinity of that day, the Goddess of Reason. I was once tempted to ask him before them, his age, which staggering demand occasioned a dead pause;—but at last, bounce out it came, “*trente-six !*” to the utter injury of the best part of the quarter of a century. There was too a salvo at the other extreme, *Il avait été bien pres de se marier à l’age de seize ans* *. On the whole, however, we had no cause to complain of ill treatment; on the contrary, we experienced much civility, without which we would indeed have been badly off, for in other respects we suffered considerable privations. In our way to the Isle of France, we

* Perhaps I did, but I hope not now, owe my old acquaintance a sort of grudge: for one day shortly after our capture, when I was leaning over the ship side, in the hot fit of an ague, and desperately sick, he comforted me with the passing assurance, “*mon ami, vous êtes fichu ;*” —(You are done for.)

I shall here notice, that though such attacks of fever often returned, their violence gradually abated, and the constitution seemed in some degree to get a little familiarized with it, for I have been able even to sit at dinner with the cold fit upon me. For many years, however, I never was free from the effects, and am not indeed entirely so at this moment. I should suppose that the Madagascar fever, when it takes this course, resembles much that of the fatal one of Walcheren.

were becalmed for a long time, which extended our passage to six weeks, about double the period expected. Our provisions of all kinds ran short; the biscuit even was so mouldy, and full of worms, that it could hardly be eat; and the air, from the rice, I believe, which had worked its way among the water in the lower parts of the vessel, became by the heat quite offensive, and must have been in a high degree unwholesome*. We had indeed now and then a scanty help in the way of provisions, by some fish being caught, and an occasional shark was not unacceptable, though the meat (excepting perhaps the fins,) is very tough, and in its nature greatly repulsive. It was curious enough to see the superior dexterity of the French sailors in making their fricandos from occasional wind-falls, when our people could not do more than exist.

After a long trial of our patience, a fresh breeze at length sprung up, that wafted us on our voyage; and what was a very great object in our debilitated state, brought us into a cool-

* Carburetted Hydrogen, was, I suppose, the produce. Every metal substance became discoloured after a very short exposure in the places where we slept; and nothing but the counteracting purity of the sea air probably prevented worse consequences.

er climate, away from the oppressive heat of the Line. The Isle of France, and all connected with it, is now so well known, that it would be needless, even if I had the means, to mention the particulars of our approach to it, or the different islands and lands that we passed. It was night when we reached the outer part of the harbour, and there we anchored till next morning, when we were visited by various public officers, and all sorts of people, some of whom were probably much disappointed when they saw the kind of prize that had been brought in *. In the course of the forenoon we landed, and were for that day hospitably received at the house of an Englishman, who was residing at the Isle of France with his family, as a sort of *detenu*. It is proper to mention, that in something of the same

* The privateers were generally fitted out by joint subscriptions, which were divided into shares that were transferable; and the value rose or fell, according to the occasional reports received of the success, or otherwise, of the different vessels. It was much of a gambling business, and the daily transactions of the place of public resort in Port Louis, were somewhat similar, to compare things very small with things very great, to those of our Stock Exchange. Vessels are usually seen at a great distance from the signal-hill at Port Louis, and when ours was approaching, expectation would be a good deal raised, so that the disappointment, doubt not, partook of the humorous account in the *Vicar of Wakefield*, of the gross of green spectacles.

circumstances, though probably on much less sufficient grounds, were at that time detained there a great number of American ships, that had been laid under embargo two months before, and were kept for several months after, to the ruinous injury of many individuals. The ostensible reason of this proceeding was the intended departure of a fleet for France, of which the Americans might convey intelligence to the enemy ; but this was allowed to operate for months, and it was supposed that the fear of intelligence was more directed to the safety of the privateers that were pouring out as fast as they could ; or perhaps some hope was entertained, that, in the chapter of events, a good excuse might be found for seizing the whole. Whatever the motives or object might be, the poor people concerned were kept in the most painful suspense for a long time.

It is not often that prisoners can speak in terms of almost unqualified gratitude of their reception in a hostile country ; but so we were enabled, and so it is our duty to do, in this case. The government, and the society of the place, were then a good deal in the same state of disorganization as prevailed in the parent country : They had a governor without power, a colon

ial assembly without decisive weight, and a jacobin club that much swayed both. But, notwithstanding this state of things, it is to the honour of this island that their revolutionary annals were, as I have been informed, rarely stained by any particular acts of atrocity or violence; at the time we were there, though there were occasional alarms, nothing material of this kind occurred. From all ranks of inhabitants we received nothing but civility and kindness. Most of the passengers were taken into the houses of different inhabitants in the town or country. In particular, I would mention ~~the name of~~ M. B——r, an old gentleman of high respectability, and who had a most amiable family. He had served in the armies in Europe, and had about him all the high-toned feelings of a *vieux militaire* of the former school; his principles, as those of several of his neighbours, were firmly loyal, and they had wisely withdrawn a good deal from the tumult of democracy, living hospitably and happily on their plantations in the country. From him we received much kindness in various ways. Those of opposite principles were, at the same time, not slow in testifying their good will. We had communication from the principal club, (I do not now recollect its exact title,) inform-

ing us that they did not "make war against the unfortunate," and expressing their readiness to do us service. One or two of us went in consequence as a deputation, to wait on them, and return thanks, which really came not from the mouth only, but the heart. The meeting was numerous; they had a president, and their plan of proceeding was, I suppose, much similar to that formerly observed in such societies in France. After our reply had been delivered, we were invited to the honours of the sitting, and shortly after parted the best possible friends. I have mentioned the harassing situation in which the American commanders and owners found themselves, by their unjust detention. From several of those gentlemen we received such civilities as we might have expected, not merely from our countrymen, but from near relatives. It is not at all likely that this ephemeral production should ever work its way across the Atlantic; but if it happens at any time to meet the eye of Mr. S—t and Capt. D—o, I beg they will be assured how greatly I would be rejoiced, if I could, by any channel, hear of their welfare*.

* I partook of the hospitality of those gentlemen, till I got into more permanent quarters. To them also was greatly in-

' On the whole, we passed our time agreeably in this delightful island, and did not find the time at all heavy. But it was natural that our views should be directed to India, which we looked to, however erroneously, as the termination of all toils. For a long time, however, we had very little prospect of succeeding in our wishes. There was, I believe, no desire to detain us personally, and if we could have gone in a balloon, or any such airy conveyance, we would probably have had permission to do so; but the fear of intelligence regarding the privateers was the bar in the way of any foreign ves-

debted one of the other passengers, Mr. H——n, an interesting young man destined for the Bengal Civil Establishment. He was, if I remember, particularly well connected in England, and his general deportment indicated that he was so. His constitution had been much impaired, but not, to all appearance, materially more so than that of others. I saw him on the Friday, when he was complaining a little of a sore throat. He had gone that day, or the following, on board of Captain D——'s ship, close to the shore, and his illness increased; but I believe no danger was apprehended till Saturday night or Sunday morning, when he suddenly put out his hand to Captain D——, saying, "good bye; I am gone;" and shortly after expired. Every honour was paid to the remains of this amiable young man by the American Commanders, a certain number of whom manned their boats, and attended the body in procession across the harbour to the place of interment, the vessels at the same time shewing the usual demonstrations of mourning on the occasion.

sel being allowed to sail. One or two attempts were made to effect a relaxation of this sweeping measure, but without success. One of those with whom there was a negotiation for this purpose, the particulars of which are now immaterial, was a person who afterwards made some noise in the world, M. Dubuc*. But the

* M. Dubuc was a sort of leading person at the Isle of France at this time. He had the character of being ready for any enterprise; and was much of a professional duellist. When some years after, (in 1798,) Tippoo Sultan had determined to embark in war with the British government, M. Dubuc and a number more repaired to Seringapatam, from the Isle of France; and he was dispatched by Citizen Tippoo, (this was the appellation usually given, not by Dubuc indeed, who knew better, but by other demagogues at that deluded Prince's capital,) to the Directory in France, in a diplomatic capacity, so that he at that time escaped capture. He returned to India, with the French troops sent out to take possession of Pondicherry, after the short-lived peace of Amiens: But, before they had been long landed, the war again broke out, and M. Dubuc was made prisoner with the rest of the party. He was immediately sent to England with the other prisoners; and had promised, I believe, to do some service to our government in France, which had not been according to the taste of Napoleon, for the thing having got wind, Dubuc was apprehended and shot, by the now-crowned Emperor's orders.

I should add, in justice to M. Dubuc, that though he had the name of a duellist, it was then thought no sort of disparagement at the Isle of France, where such things at that period were quite in usual course. I even remember seeing two little boys, once brought out to engage in a combat of this kind; their ages seemingly not exceeding fourteen.

plan was frustrated. Matters went on in this way upwards of three months without any prospect of alteration, when some newspapers happened luckily to arrive from Bengal, by which it appeared that the destination of most of the privateers had become very well known in the British Settlements. This led to a removal of the embargo with regard to ships destined to proceed to the west of the Cape of Good Hope; but though apparently without the least sufficient reason, it was still continued as to vessels proceeding to India. We did not at all relish the prospect of being obliged to measure back our steps to the Cape, from whence we had sailed about sixteen months before; but this we must have done, as the only means, however circuitous, of getting on to India, if it had not happily occurred to some one to plant a battery which it was impossible for French sensibility and politeness to withstand. The expedient hit on was, that some of the ladies of the Winter-

They took their distance in the Champ de Mars, and laying their pistols across their left arms, moved on towards each other and fired with undisturbed composure. The seconds, who were grown up, had so far shewn sense, that they had not put balls into the pistols; but the performers did not, it was understood, know that, so that they had probably all the *ut* of intended murder.

ton should go in person to the colonial assembly and solicit permission for a vessel to sail direct to Madras, with the survivors of that ship. I was then, and for some time after, confined to bed by a severe accident, and could not attend at the ceremony: but I had the happiness to hear that the application had been received in the best manner, and had, without a dissenting voice, been acceded to. This being settled, not a moment was lost in making the requisite preparations, and within three days we got on board of an American vessel, and were under weigh*.

In leaving the Isle of France, I must observe how very different the result was which attended our visit to that Island, from what our forebodings had suggested. When we reached it, the cool season was nearly over; but the climate is, I imagine, at all times of the year salubrious,

* It was well for us that this dispatch was used, for, as we heard afterwards, the tide of feeling had very quickly turned. The fear, I suppose, about the privateers had revived, and the governor, however reluctantly, was compelled to sign an order to call us back, and a vessel dispatched after us to enforce it: but our vessel sailing well, we got off.

I was carried on board in a sort of litter, and I recollect getting a peep, as I passed, of a *memento mori*, which had been a day or two before erected at the governor's door, in the shape of a gallows. I do not now remember what was said to have led to this outrage; but I believe it passed off without any unoward event.

